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ABSTRACT

The authors report on major trends and emerging issues in state education policy-making. Two parts cover, first, the history, status, and future of educational governance and, second, the alternatives open to state leaders in structuring and using education commissions. In accounting for trends in educational governance, the authors consider such influences as teacher recruitment, the impact of technology, the needs of special students, and changing administrative practices. The governing structures of elementary/secondary education are classified in four models, emphasizing the differing roles of governors, legislatures, state school officers, and boards and departments of education. The present structures and issues in state governance of higher education are also identified. The second section reports the findings of two studies conducted by the Educational Governance Center. In the first study, interviews with participants in seven states from nine educational commissions provided information on the selection of commission members, their specific duties, the logistics of their meetings, the political climates, the specifying of goals, and comparative commission structures. Another study on the influences on legislative voting analyzed votes on school finance reform to discover legislators' priorities in votes on educational funding. (JW)

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State Governance of Education: 1983

Report No. EG-83-1

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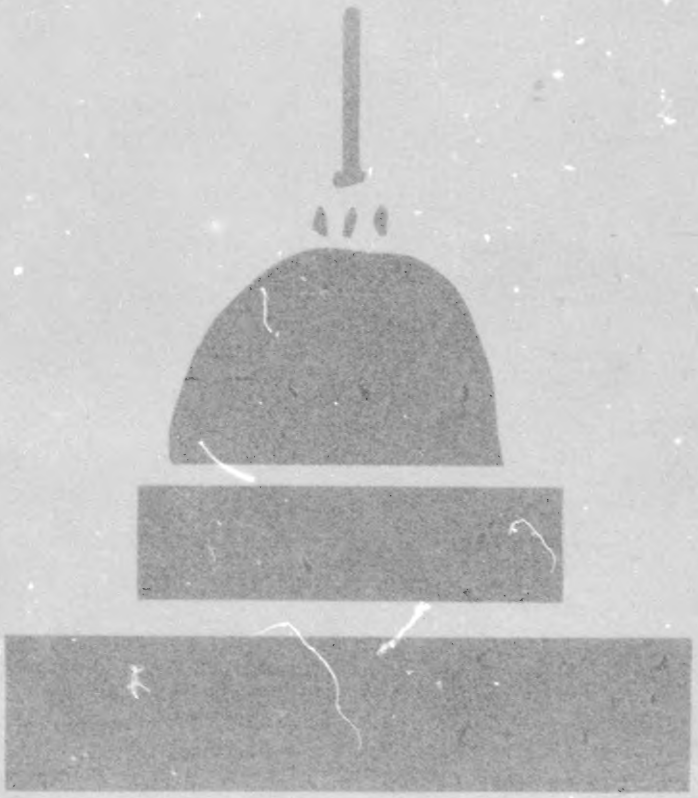
May 1983



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Contents

Acknowledgments 4

Executive Summary 5
Education's Changing Environment 5
Elementary/Secondary Governance 5
Postsecondary Governance 6
Studies by the Education Governance Center 7

Part One: Education Governance: Past, Present & Future

1. Introduction 9
What Is Education Governance? 9
The Education Governance Center 10
Topics on the 1983 Agenda 10
Publications 11

2. Trends in Education 12
The Changing Context 12
Trends in Governance 13
Issues of Current Concern 14
Improving Schools/Institutions 14
Recruiting and Retaining Good Teachers 14
Adapting to Technology 15
Forging Links Between Public Education and Private Industry 15
Solving Boundary Problems 15
Meeting the Needs of Special Students 15
Improving Administrative Practices 15

3. Leadership in Elementary/Secondary Education 16
State Education Governance Structures 17
Model One 17
Model Two 18
Model Three 18
Model Four 19
Governors 20
State Legislatures 20
State Boards of Education 21
State Departments of Education 22
Chief State School Officers 23
Conclusion 24

4. State Governance of Higher Education 25
Complexity of State Governance 26
Basic State Functions 26
State Approaches to Governance 26
Differences Among States 27
Governance Structures in 1983 27
Trends in State Structure 29
Changes from 1972 to 1979 29
Recent Changes 30
Issues 33
Continuing Priority of Comprehensive or Master Planning 33
Increasing Emphasis on Reviewing Existing Programs 35
Increasing Number of Issues That Single Institutions Cannot Address Alone 35
Innovation in Budgetary and Other Finance Mechanisms 36
Conclusion 36

Part Two: ECS Studies in Education Governance

5. Blue Ribbon Commissions 38
Past Practice 38
ECS Study 38
Findings 39
Creating the Commission 39
Commissioners 39
Role of the Governor 39
Operations 40
Commission Activities 41
Elementary/Secondary Commissions and Postsecondary Commissions 41
Summary 42

6. Voting and Leadership: Legislative Behavior 44
Research 44
Votes in Different States 45
Votes at Different Times 46
Cross-Issue Comparisons 46
Comparisons Across Chambers 46
Differences Between Voting Behavior and Policy Leadership 47
Implications of Results 47

Bibliography 48

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Despite the many valuable contributions of the above individuals, all interpretations in this booklet are the sole responsibility of the authors.

Executive Summary

The Education Governance Center (EGC) at the Education Commission of the States studies how states develop, implement and evaluate education policies, and how they organize and administer state education systems. This publication is the first in a series of EGC reports on major trends and emerging issues of importance in state education governance.

A study of education governance looks at administrative structures, functions and lines of authority. Its concern is the policy-making process, from inception to development to implementation to evaluation – and the interactions within this process.

Education's Changing Environment

Education issues take their place within the context of larger state issues, which, in turn, form part of the national, and even global, environment of education. This environment is changing as the United States becomes an information society instead of an industrial one, as the population increases in some regions of the country and decreases in others, and as general economic crisis leads to budget shortfalls for government.

Issues impinging more directly on education are declining enrollments in many states, more numerous and more vocal interest groups, attention on alternatives to standard public education (e.g., private schools), growing use of computers for instruction and administration, and the decentralization of authority to states accelerated by federal cutbacks and program consolidations. Also at issue and widely discussed in the media are the effectiveness of schools and the competence of teachers. Of growing importance are ties between education and private sector support and the boundary interface between elementary/secondary and higher education, in particular the fit between high school graduation requirements and college entrance standards.

Elementary/ Secondary Governance

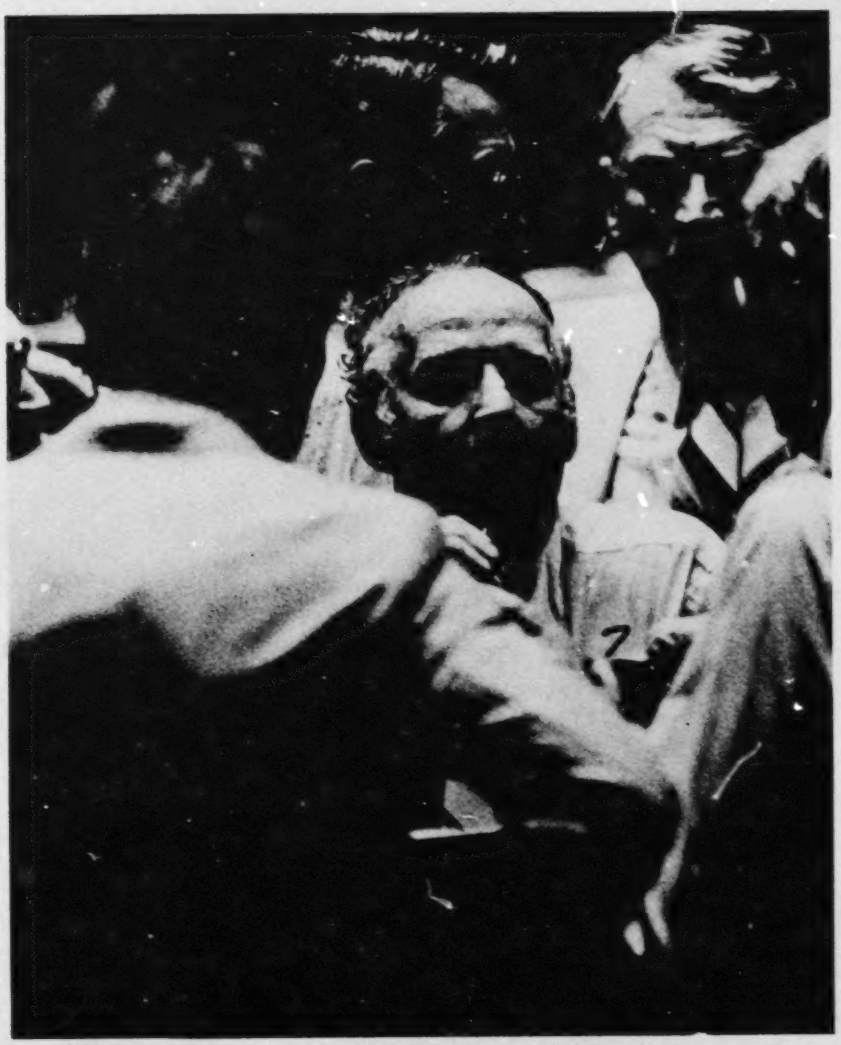
State departments of education and state boards govern elementary/ secondary education, sharing authority to different extents in different states with governors and legislatures. For example, in many states the governor appoints board members; in a few states, the board is elected. The board often appoints the chief executive of the department of education (the chief state school officer), but in a few states the governor makes the appointments. In several states, the legislature confirms or rejects the governor's appointments to state boards.

Although each of these government entities has some authority in education matters, not all exercise this authority fully. Only a few governors, for example, have become education leaders. A number of legislatures, however, have become active in setting education policy, and some are involved in oversight activities. Typically, state boards have formal responsibility for establishing policies, but they often spend much of their time on administrative details rather than on policy making. State departments coordinate and administer a myriad of functions such as information dissemination and technical assistance to local districts; the greater the expertise of state department staff the greater the likelihood that the department will be able to influence policy makers. The chief executives of state departments are in pivotal positions, since they not only manage departments but also represent education interests to the governor, legislature and, at times, the public.

In the next few years, as states assume greater education responsibilities, leadership will become even more important. However, several problems may deter the exercise of leadership. Frequently, governors find few political

rewards, and many potential pitfalls, in providing education policy leadership. For similar reasons, the traditional education leaders in the legislatures, many of whom are leaving education, may not be quickly or easily replaced. State boards are often confronted by administrative overload; state departments and chief state school officers do not have the resources to meet growing demands for their services.

Overcoming these deterrents to leadership is critically important. Governors and legislators must be convinced that education is not a political liability, perhaps by growing public interest in high-quality teachers and education programs. State boards need to replace time spent on management details with policy-making deliberations. Providing boards with their own staffs would help board members assimilate and assess relevant information to make wise policy decisions. State departments and their chiefs need resources to provide services to local districts and schools. People of high caliber need to be attracted to the position of chief state school officer.



Postsecondary Governance

Higher education in the 1980s must also deal with limited financial resources and declining enrollments, a challenge complicated by a tradition that has insulated higher education from direct state control and state policies – even though the state provides much of the funding. The politics of retrenchment, however, could force governors and legislators to intervene in the affairs of higher education because they sense an obligation to see that postsecondary institutions are efficiently managed, that programs of high quality are maintained without unnecessary duplication, and that issues of access and equal opportunity are addressed. They are also concerned about economic development and the effectiveness of employment-related education.

Almost all states have some kind of state-level governing board for postsecondary education. These boards are of two general types: consolidated governing boards that have operating responsibility for the public institutions they govern, and coordinating boards that carry out certain statewide functions while governance of individual institutions is left to other boards. Among the issues of current concern that boards confront are: the continuing need for comprehensive or master planning, including overall coordination among state institutions; the realization that many problems cannot be solved by single institutions; the greater emphasis on reviewing existing programs (in addition to approving new programs), and entire institutions; the growing concern for coordination between secondary and postsecondary education; and the need for innovation in the financing of higher education.

Some states have reorganized their boards and several states are currently considering some type of

reorganization. However, a degree of stability has been achieved by most boards in the last decade, which will allow many states to address problems through existing boards and other government structures.

Studies by the Education Governance Center

The Education Governance Center conducted two studies on specific aspects of state education. One study examined the role of "blue ribbon" commissions in the formulation of state education policy. The other study analyzed factors that influence voting by state legislators on school finance issues and factors that influence legislators to become leaders in education policy.

When legislatures and governors take the initiative in setting state education policy, one mechanism they can use to develop policy is the blue ribbon commission or task force. Interviews with participants in seven states from nine commissions for elementary/secondary and postsecondary concerns provided information on several areas of commission activity. Examined were: reasons for the creation of commissions; selection of members; specific operations, including steps in the problem-solving process; and the logistics of time frame, staff support, funding levels and sources, and meeting schedules. Interviews suggested that meetings were best conducted with a planned agenda, that media coverage and the use of public hearings varied, and that effective leadership was critical, although leadership styles varied between elementary/secondary and postsecondary commissions.

Study results also suggest that officials considering the establishment of blue ribbon commissions should **know the state political climate and the particular policy area** to be studied. Also helpful is **knowledge of what other states are doing,** and **what is practical in a given state.** The **outcome desired** (such as legislation or ongoing planning) **should be established at the outset. Choosing the right people** is vital.

Influences on legislative voting were examined through the analysis of votes on the reform of the school finance system in three states. Roll call votes on amendments and on entire bills were reviewed. Results indicate that if altering the flow of funds to schools was at issue, legislators usually ascertained the specific economic self-interest of their districts and voted accordingly. But if a regulatory matter was at issue, legislators often voted along ideological lines, such as political party. In other words, **when legislation raised significant winner and loser possibilities, legislators voted in the best economic interests of their districts.**

The study found no direct relationship between the development of legislative leaders and the characteristics of legislative districts. It did find that support from established education leaders and from "new ideas" legislators was needed to pass school finance legislation.

The results of the legislative study can perhaps be generalized to other states, but to an extent limited by the political culture and unique situation of each state.

Part One

Education Governance: Past, Present & Future

1. Introduction

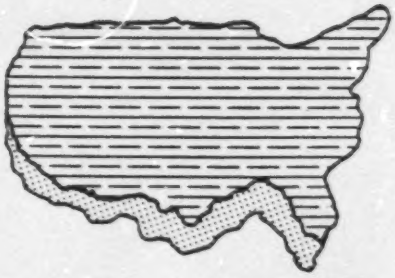
What Is Education Governance?

"Who gets what? When? How?" These are the questions to ask about all politics, according to well known political scientist Harold Lasswell. Not surprisingly, they are also the classic questions to ask about education governance – which is, in essence, the politics of education.

But to narrow the definition of education governance somewhat, it might be helpful to look first at a series of fictitious (but plausible) events in the prototypical state of "Allakota" and then to describe the issues of governance that underlie events like these.

Governor Phil A. Buster, of the state of Allakota, read a report that student test scores were declining in his state and became concerned about issues of teacher quality. He established a Governor's Commission on Teacher Quality and charged it with exploring issues of teacher certification and ways to attract good new teachers to the schools of Allakota.

After six months of work, the commission made two recommendations: (1) to change the requirement that all certified teachers have a degree from an Allakota state teacher training institution and allow anyone with a college degree to apply for certification through a new state licensure review board; and (2) to establish a revolving loan fund to provide low-interest loans to students interested in becoming teachers in the state. The recommendations were presented to the state legislature. In the ensuing debate, there was a battle between the governor (who supported the recommendations), the education committees in the House and Senate (who were concerned with the implications for enrollments in the state's four-year institution) and the Senate Appropriations Committee (who felt the recommended changes were too costly). Determining the effects of the proposed state loan program was complicated by the existence of a federal loan program. Interest groups from around the state lined up on both sides of the debate. State teacher-training institutions were very much opposed to the recommendations. Local school boards supported the recommendations, arguing that their effect would be to increase



local board flexibility in hiring. Eventually, a piece of legislation was passed and signed by the governor. A change in certification requirements was enacted into law and a revolving loan fund was approved, but because of the state's economic situation, no monies were appropriated for the fund.

Underlying or emerging from these events are main issues of education governance. In the **policy development process** at the state level, the governor's commission examined the problems and recommended alternative solutions. The interaction of the commission, the governor and the legislature in initial deliberations about the recommendations raises questions about formal **structures** and structural **interrelationships.** The intrusion of a federal loan program indicates the problems encountered when the **intergovernmental system** affects the development of state policy. Various **interests** have access to the formal decision-making process and take positions on the legislative proposal. The economic conditions that impeded the appropriation of money for the loan fund represent one aspect of the **environment** in which the policy process takes place. The **outcomes** of this process -- legislation establishing a set of regulations and allocating authority -- illustrate aspects of education governance.

A brief look at what happened next in "Allakota" illustrates some of the difficulties that arise when new policies are implemented.

Unfortunately, the legislation failed to specify where the new licensure review board would be located organizationally and who would be represented on it. These became major issues in the implementation of the new legislation. A confrontation developed between state institutions of higher education and associations and the state department of education over where the board was to be placed and to whom the board would report. Various interest groups became embroiled in the controversy over who was to be on the board.

Eventually, these issues were resolved. One year after the new certification program began, a study was done to examine its effect. The study found that the total number of teachers in the state had increased by 25%, that one-fifth of them were coming from out of state, that enrollment patterns at the state universities had changed significantly and that enrollments at teacher-training institutions had dropped. The study also examined hiring practices in 10 school districts and found that schools in one district were, in fact, hiring teachers with no teacher training preparation to reduce costs.

Governance also encompasses the developments that take place after the enactment of policy. The **implementation** of the teacher certification program presents issues of **structure** (i.e., where the licensing board should be housed); the **interests** of various groups are reflected in battles over structure and over membership on the board. The state has the responsibility for the **administration** of the program. Assessing the **effects** of the policy are important, as is understanding the **local implementation** of policy (i.e., that one district hired noncertified teachers).

All these issues of elementary/secondary education, postsecondary education and their interrelationships are within the domain of governance. The specifics may change, but processes of policy development (which involve structures, relationships, the intergovernmental system, interests and outcomes) and of policy implementation (which involve structures, interests, administration, effects and local implementation) remain central to the study of governance.

The Education Governance Center

The Education Commission of the States (ECS) has recently created the Education Governance Center (EGC) to assist state policy makers in developing education policies, implementation strategies and the organizational and administrative structures necessary to maximize the contribution that effective governance can make to providing all students with the best possible education. The center functions in several ways. It conducts research on the various issues outlined in the previous section. It serves as an information clearinghouse, collecting and disseminating material on education governance. It provides short-term consultation and other forms of technical assistance. It develops and expands state networks of individuals and organizations concerned about similar types of education issues.

Topics on the 1983 Agenda

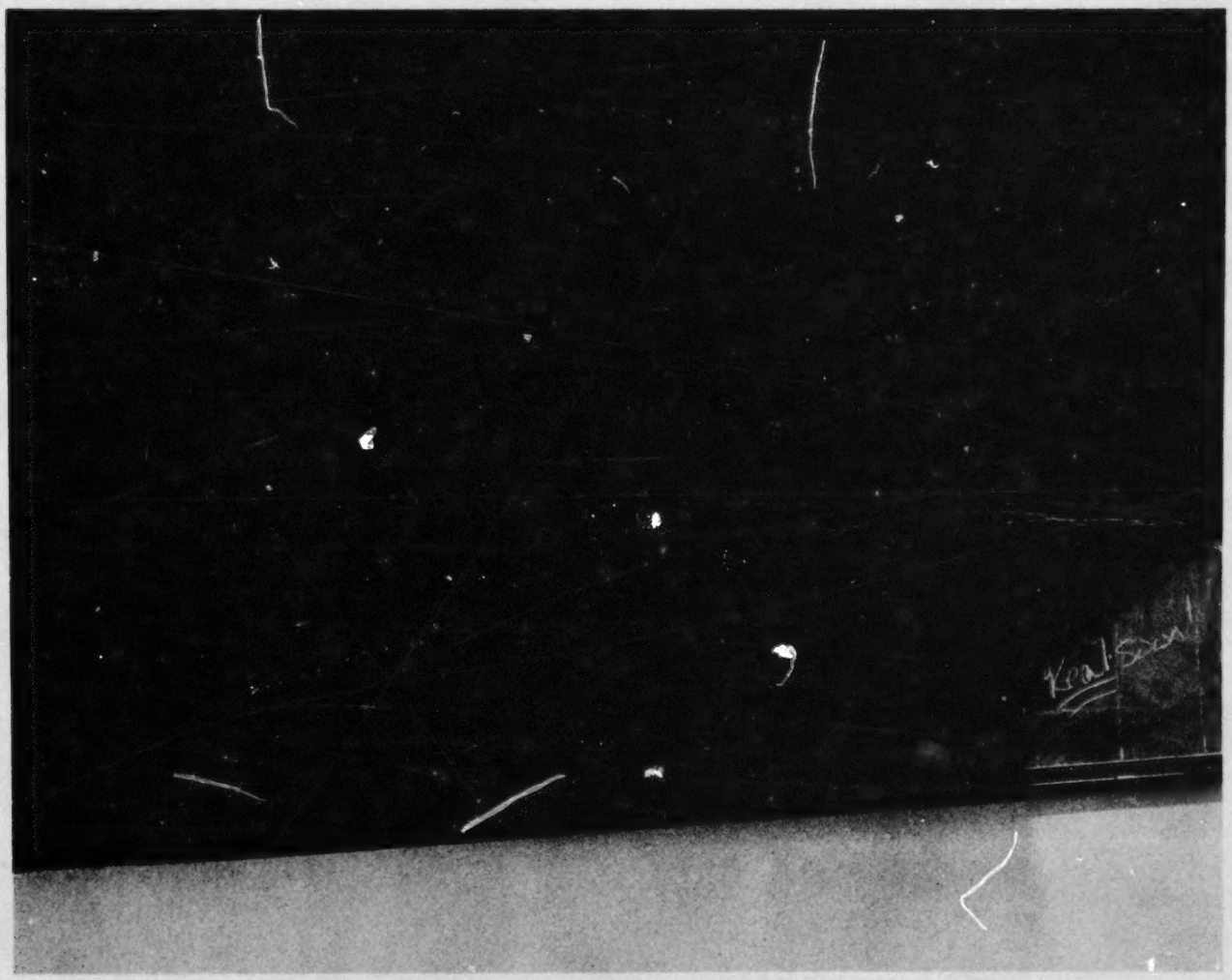
In 1983, the center plans to focus its attention on these topics: formal structures of governance and coordination in the 50 states, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa, for both elementary/secondary and higher education; the organization and reorganization of state departments of education; state implementation of federal programs, especially of Chapter 2

of the 1981 Education Consolidation and Improvement Act; state programs for school improvement; the use of study commissions to develop education policy; state legislative voting behavior and school finance; state policies to improve teacher quality; and the state role in setting college entrance requirements and relating them to high school graduation requirements.

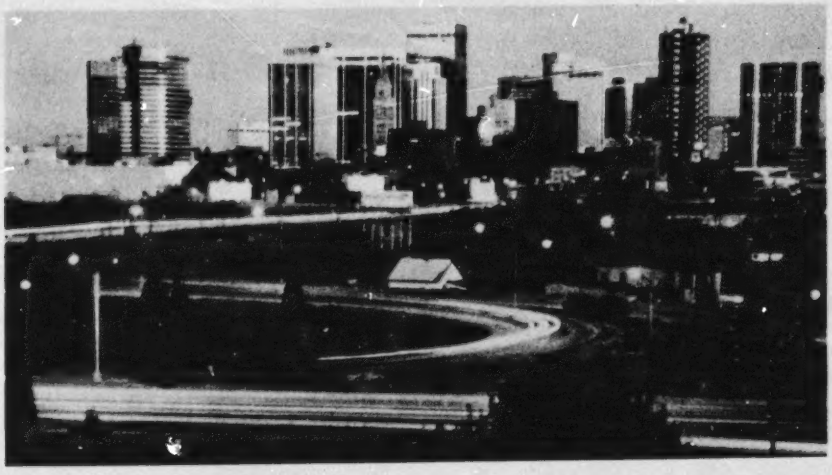
Publications

The Education Governance Center expects to prepare a variety of publications ove: the next several years. One publication will be a series of annual booklets that survey major governance trends in education and explore emerging issues that are important for education policy in the states. Another type will be various working papers that analyze several of the topics identified above in greater depth. The center will also prepare shorter issue summaries in various forms.

The present booklet is the first annual governance report. It is divided into two major parts. Included in Part One are an overview of recent governance trends (Chapter 2), an examination of elementary/secondary education with particular emphasis on the issue of leadership (Chapter 3), and a discussion of trends in postsecondary education governance (Chapter 4). Part Two provides summaries of recent Governance Center studies. The first looks at blue ribbon commissions (Chapter 5), the second examines legislative voting behavior (Chapter 6).

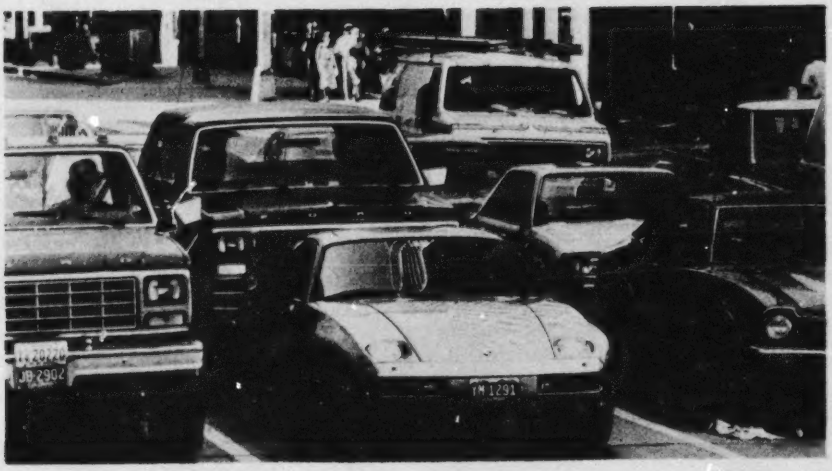


2. Trends in Education

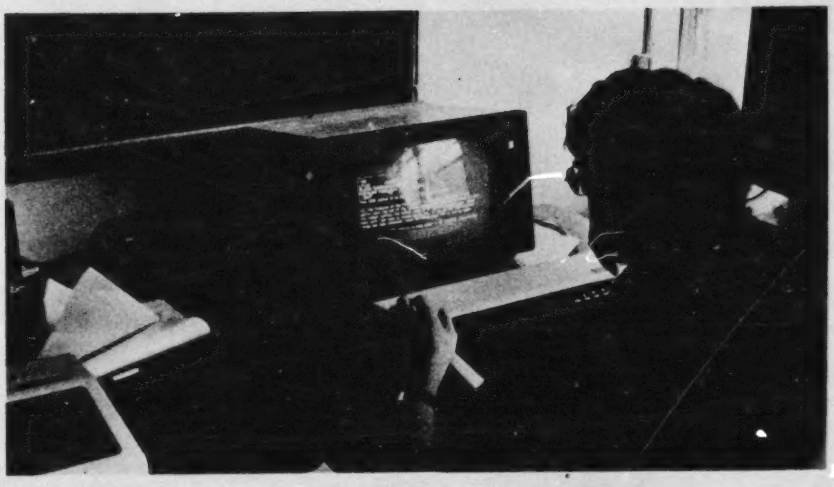


Trends in education governance take place within the context of trends in society at large. In turn, trends in governance provide a context within which education issues are raised and acted upon. This chapter therefore begins with a brief discussion of trends that have clear implications for governance; it ends by outlining some of the issues that education leaders are now addressing.

The Changing Context



Twenty years ago, America was largely an industrial society characterized by big business, big government, big unions and a centralized hierarchical organization of services and responsibilities. Today, more than half the nation's work force acquires and processes information. Capital was the strategic resource, and energy was the transforming resource in the industrial society of 20 years ago; now, information is the strategic resource and knowledge and technology are the transforming resources in what has become an information society. This is an important development for education, since information and knowledge are its business.



Futurists and trend watchers note other significant changes. The American demographic center of gravity is shifting from the North to the South and from the East to the West. Issue politics are replacing party politics. The nation is moving from an emphasis on institutional help to an emphasis on self-help, from either-or choices to multiple options. The growing use of technology seems to be accompanied by a growing respect for the importance of human interaction. Decentralized systems and networks are replacing centralized hierarchies.

Many of these trends in the larger society are mirrored in the field of

education. Changes in student enrollment patterns reflect the larger demographic shifts. Although enrollments are now generally stable in most southern and southwestern states, the South and West expect the greatest enrollment increases over the next 15 years.

The political context for education is changing. Traditional interests in education are increasingly fragmented, and the influence and number of new interests that focus on specific issues are growing. All interest groups are becoming more articulate in demanding more money or services from the education system.

The education system offers more choice. Demand for alternatives to public education is increasing, as evidenced by widening interest in tuition tax credits, voucher systems, choice mechanisms within the public schools and alternative strategies of support for private schools. Perhaps more important, options within public schools are becoming more numerous. There are different types of public schools, schools within schools, alternative schools. Enrollments are often open within and across districts.*

High technology is affecting education. The number of computers used in schools has risen dramatically over the last five years.

Decentralization is coming to education as the federal government, which began in the 1960s to provide more money and services for education, redefines its role and reverses that trend. Over the last several years, state roles have gained importance, as have partnerships between states and school districts. As states have assumed greater responsibilities, they have also developed their capability to deal with complex education issues.

Accompanying other changes has been a subtle shift in the basic goals of the education system. Over the last several years states and school districts have seen an emphasis on equity and freedom of access shift to concern for quality education and an awareness of the importance of higher order skills. Although the public still demands that the education system be "accountable," the meaning of that term now seems less tied to matters of management and procedure than to good educational results. A school improvement movement has attracted enthusiastic support from professionals and the public across the country.

Trends in Governance

In response to these changes in education and the larger social, political and economic context, various aspects of education governance are also undergoing change. The major trends highlighted below are analyzed further in succeeding sections of this booklet.

Governors have emerged as strong leaders in education in a number of states. Governors like Charles Robb of Virginia, Robert Graham of Florida, James Hunt of North Carolina and Pierre du Pont of Delaware have played significant roles in moving education forward in their states.

Education leadership in state legislatures is changing. Many of the older, more experienced leaders are retiring or moving into other policy arenas, their places taken by younger legislators who are often educators themselves or represent particular education interests. Education leaders are active in appropriations committees as well as in substantive education committees. This is not surprising, since such a large part of education policy remains education finance.

Legislators are increasingly interested in overseeing the results of education legislation. In part this is because legislatures track what happens to federal block grants. More important, though, is the growing interest in overseeing state programs on the part of legislators who want to know if the programs are working. Many legislatures have established oversight committees and some have created independent commissions to review executive agency regulations.

Perhaps because of leadership changes and the increased emphasis on oversight, state legislatures seem to have expanded their interest in policy research. Legislative research staffs and committee staffs have grown in size and improved in quality; outside consultants and research organizations augment in-state research. Also expanding is the use of blue ribbon commissions established by the governor or the legislature to generate ideas and recommend new legislative directions.

Although the structures of state boards of education and their formal relationships with other parts of the system have not changed dramatically over the last 10 years, board members are now more likely to be well trained and sophisticated about education issues.

State departments of education and other executive agencies have been subject to short-term shifts in emphasis that contrast with longer-term trends. The trend of the last 15 years has been for state departments of education to add substantial capacity and responsibility, but federal and state budget reductions have brought short-term reductions in staff.

Another short-term phenomenon has been the decline in support for federal and state categorical programs.

*Throughout this report, usage of the following terms refers to elementary/secondary education in the public domain: state boards and state departments of education (the executive agencies at the state level); districts, school districts, local districts, public schools (at the local level).

Although the period from 1965 to the present can be characterized as a time of expansion of such programs, the last few years have seen a contraction in financial support and services provided to categorical program recipients. Federal support for several elementary/secondary programs, like Chapter 1 (Title I) and Chapter 2 of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981 has declined. In postsecondary education, federal student aid programs have also suffered cuts of major proportions. Support for Pell grants, supplemental grants, state student incentive grants and college work study programs has declined by nearly one-fourth during the past three fiscal years.

There has also been some decline in state support for elementary/secondary programs. Support for five state compensatory education programs fell between 1975 and 1981; support for three others did not increase. Funding for five state bilingual programs also declined from 1978 to 1981; funding for two others showed no change. The implications of all these short-term reductions have yet to be determined. However, at the very least, the number of students served in these programs is likely to decline.

State departments of education are shifting from the "picket fence" organizational structure erected to administer categorical grant programs to a structure based on functions instead of programs. Staff now monitor or provide technical assistance for a number of programs instead of working on a single program. (There is some indication that local districts are beginning a similar sort of reorganization.) The emphasis has shifted from the procedural and financial monitoring characteristic of the 1960s and 1970s to providing technical assistance that helps schools improve quality.

School districts and schools are fashioning their own programs. One example is the trend to regard the individual school as the organization that can best initiate change, a trend evident in the growing reliance on school-site budgeting. The principal's role as an education leader is becoming increasingly important, as is the interaction of teachers and principals. In response to heightened public concern about education, contact between school districts and communities has increased in some states.

In higher education, there are two major governance trends. First, general recognition of problems that transcend campuses and of the need for comprehensive planning has heightened the traditional tension between state policy makers and individual institutions and has raised new questions of campus autonomy. How both sides cooperate to solve these problems may well change governing structures, which have remained fairly stable in recent years even though some changes have been contemplated. Second, because of the unhealthy state of the overall economy and cutbacks in state budgets, coordinating and governing boards are being asked to consider streamlining postsecondary programs. The review of existing programs in institutions or in larger systems is frequently the mechanism used to eliminate duplication.

Issues of Current Concern

Leaders in education have in recent times devoted particular attention to formulating and carrying out policies that address the following major issues.

Improving Schools/Institutions

Recent studies have documented the tremendous growth in the last several years of policies and programs to improve teaching, administration, curriculum and instruction, and district planning. Many efforts are under way to develop "effective schools," and to test student competence. A recent ECS survey indicates that virtually every state has made at least one school improvement effort, 35 states have made five or more efforts, and 16 have made eight or more. In higher education, the recent emergence of program review and "centers-of-excellence" issues within state university systems may lead to specialization as a way of providing higher quality programs more efficiently.

Recruiting and Retaining Good Teachers

States are experimenting with various monetary incentives to recruit and retain good teachers; school districts are broadening and improving opportunities for teachers. State and local policy makers are also beginning to address the problems created by shortages of mathematics and science teachers.

Adapting to Technology

Thanks to new computer curricula, new efforts at computer-assisted instruction and the plummeting costs of computer hardware and software, schools are rapidly increasing their use of computers, particularly microcomputers. At issue for state leaders is the role states should play in increasing the quantity and quality of technology in local schools.

Forging Links Between Public Education and Private Industry

State leaders are considering how schools prepare their students for the work force and what transitional experience schools provide. A few states plan to develop a statewide relationship between education and business. So do some school districts and schools (e.g., the Allegheny Conference, the San Francisco Conference, various adopt-a-school programs). On a broader scale, the ECS National Task Force on Education for Economic Growth is attempting to bring education and industry closer together.

Solving Boundary Problems

The relationship of high school graduation requirements to college and university admission requirements and the role of teacher-training institutions are but two examples of what have been termed "boundary issues." At the postsecondary level, finance and quality continue as major substantive foci on the policy process agenda.

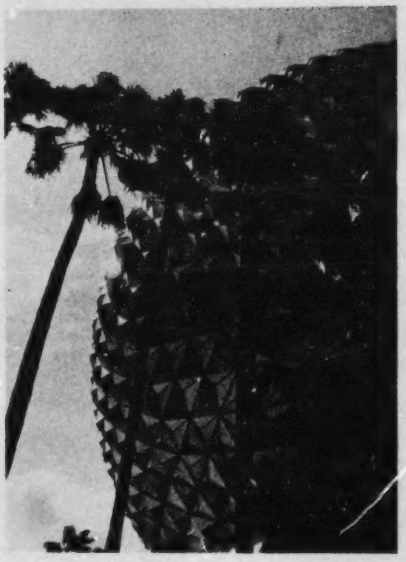
Meeting the Needs of Special Students

Now that the federal government has cut budgets and consolidated programs, state policy makers are deciding whether to assume federal commitments to disadvantaged children, handicapped students and students who speak little English.

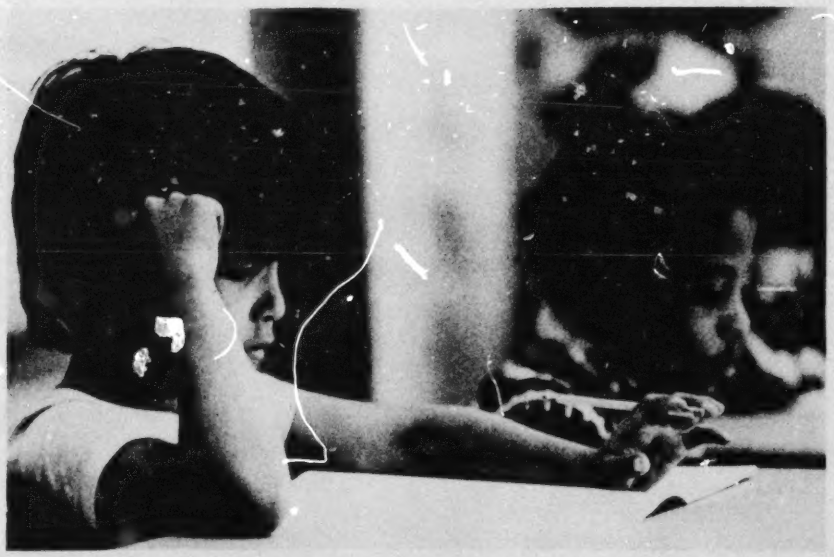
Improving Administrative Practices

Improvements in data management, changes in management philosophy and tight finances have led states and local education agencies to strive to provide more services for less money.

State policy makers who address the above issues will need to find creative solutions. Since very few states will have a surplus of money in the 1980s, implementing changes successfully will require new ideas, good leadership and innovative strategies.



3. Leadership in Elementary/Secondary Education



The last 20 years have seen a profound change in American education, for in that brief period there has been a significant shift in the locus of education policy leadership. The 1960s and 1970s were an era of centralization of education leadership. With the expanded role of the federal courts in issues of desegregation and the significant efforts of Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty program, the federal government assumed a leadership position. The government made commitments to special populations through categorical programs such as education for the disadvantaged and bilingual students (Titles I and VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act), the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, and various student aid initiatives, and assistance for developing institutions (Title III of the Higher Education Act). It supported program improvement, primarily specific titles under ESEA, and the development of state education agencies (Title V of ESEA).

This is not to say that states were inactive during this period. Many states reformed school finance policy. State programs for disadvantaged, bilingual and handicapped students sprang up with increasing frequency. State investment in and commitment to various types of postsecondary institutions grew. State testing and assessment efforts, including competency testing, were initiated.

Despite these state efforts, however, most observers view the 1960s and 1970s as the era of federal involvement in education. A primary reason for this involvement was the perception that states and local districts were not addressing certain needs adequately. This was based on the tacit assumption that states were either unable or unwilling to undertake a leadership role. The extent of federal involvement was reflected in the increasingly complex and demanding regulations that federal officials imposed on states and districts in an attempt to ensure compliance with the provisions of various federal programs.

However, the increased federal efforts have created their own antithesis. More regulations and more federal forms and requirements have spawned resistance. State and local officials across the country have raised questions about the appropriateness of the federal role and the burden of administrative requirements and paperwork.

This conflict, in conjunction with significant disaffection across the country with other government activities, led to the emergence of a new philosophy, one supported by the Reagan Administration: the decentralization of policy leadership. Changes in Title I, shifts in other categorical programs and the passage of the education block grant all reflected a desire on the part of the administration to return the leadership of education to states and school districts.

This recent decentralization of leadership and authority raises serious questions. Are states and school districts ready to meet the challenges posed by decentralization? Are the governance **structures** in place that will let state and local officials play a more central role? Do states and local districts have the capacity to **develop** sound education policy once again and to **administer** it efficiently? What can be said about individual components of the state education establishment, the **relationships** among them and their ability (or willingness) to lead? In the

pages that follow, we will explore these questions by examining first the overall structures of state elementary/ secondary governance and then by analyzing the individual parts of the system.

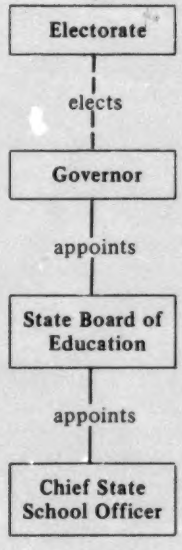
State Education Governance Structures

Education governance structures differ from state to state in ways that directly affect how state education policy leaders can act or interact. Whether one structure is better than another is a question for which research has no clear answer. But understanding the differences between structures which often reflect differences in political philosophy is important to understanding the entire education policy process.

Some very general structural relationships are common to all the states. Fiscal responsibility for education rests with the legislature and the governor. In almost all states, the governor develops an education budget and presents it to the legislature. The legislature in turn has formal responsibility for reviewing this budget and passing it in some form. State boards and state departments of education must then administer the budget. State boards also enact requirements to guide the administration of other policies that have been enacted by the legislature and the governor, and state departments administer these policies. State boards and state departments also perform quasi-judicial functions in some instances.

Other formal relationships differ markedly across the states. As Wiley (forthcoming) and Lewis (1982) have detailed in their studies, there may be as many as 10 different governance structures, 4 of which describe virtually all the states.

Model One: Governor Appoints Board, Board Appoints Chief



15 States:

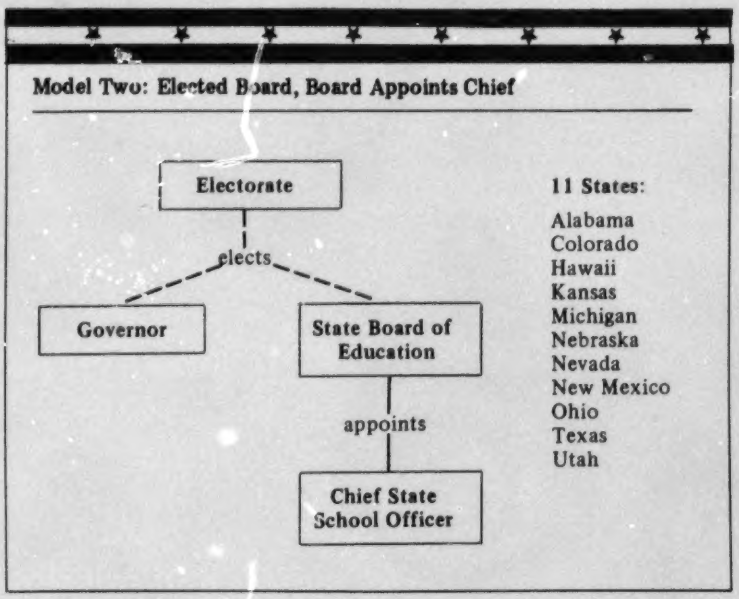
Alaska
Arkansas
Connecticut
Delaware
Illinois
Iowa
Maryland
Massachusetts
Minnesota
Missouri
New Hampshire
Rhode Island
South Dakota
Vermont
West Virginia

Model One

In 15 states the governor appoints the state board of education which then appoints the chief state school officer; the state legislature has no formal authority for appointments, although it retains broad responsibility for setting state education policy. The power to appoint would seem to give the state board and the governor considerable influence, but the power of the governor is limited in two ways. First, board members are frequently appointed for staggered terms, so a governor may appoint only a minority of the board. Second, board members in many of the 15 states serve for longer terms than the governor. In 12 states, terms range from five to nine years; only in Connecticut, Minnesota and Rhode Island are terms less than five years.

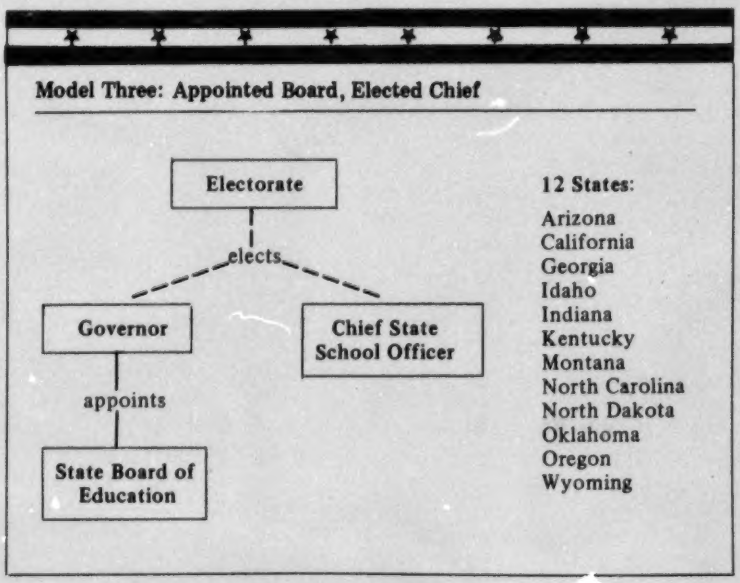
Model Two

In 11 states, the state board of education is elected at large, which tends to reduce the governor's influence in the education governance structure. The board in turn appoints the chief state school officer. In 7 of the 11 states, the elections are partisan. In more than half of the 11, board members serve four-year terms; in all but 4 of the states (Alabama, Michigan, Nevada and Texas), the chief serves at the pleasure of the board rather than for a specified term. Since the electorate participates directly in education policy making by electing the state board of education, decision making is politicized to a greater degree than in Model One. In summary, policy making in Model Two flows from the legislature and the state board of education.



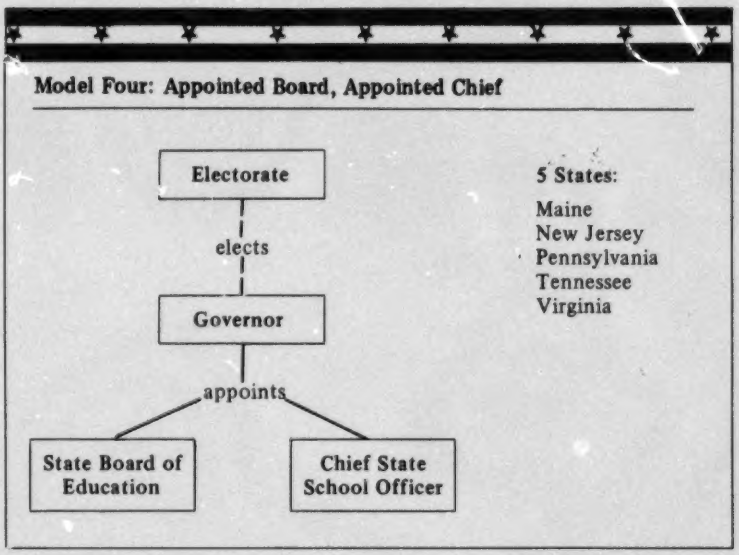
Model Three

In 12 states, the chief state school officer is elected at large, usually on a bipartisan ballot and almost always for a four-year term. The governor appoints state board members, usually to staggered terms of five years or longer. Since this structure establishes two distinct sources of education leadership, the elected chief and the appointed board, it places a premium on their positive working relationships.



Model Four

Relatively recent developments in five states and American Samoa emphasize the role of the governor, who appoints board members and, independently, the chief state school officer. In New Jersey and American Samoa, the term of chief state school officer is longer than that of the governor; in the other four states, the chief serves at the pleasure of the governor. In all the states except Virginia, the board members are appointed for terms of five years or longer. The extended terms of board members reduce what would otherwise be the substantial influence of the governor.



Structures in the remaining states, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands are variations of these models. In Florida the state board of education is composed of 7 elected members of the governor's cabinet, including the chief state school officer. At present, Mississippi uses a similar system, although the board has only 3 members: the governor, the chief state school officer and the attorney general. This structure will change in July 1984: the governor and the legislature will appoint a 9-member board that will have authority to appoint the chief state school officer. In Louisiana the state board is composed of 11 elected members and 1 ex officio member; the chief state school officer is elected. In Washington the state board is elected by local school board members, but the chief is elected at large. In New York and South Carolina the state legislature appoints the state board. Wisconsin has no state board, and the chief state school officer is elected. In Puerto Rico there is no state board, and the chief is appointed by the governor. In the Virgin Islands the state board is elected at large, and the chief is appointed by the governor.

Some interesting interrelationships cut across models. In 18 states the legislature exerts influence through its authority to confirm the governor's appointments to the state board. State departments of education interact with the state boards of education in a variety of ways. In 15 states the chief state school officer is an ex officio member of the state board and in 3 of those instances chairs the board; in 6 states, the superintendent is executive officer of the board. In all but 8 states some staff of the state department of education work either full time or part time for the state board of education.

The diversity of education governance structures is long-standing. Although there have been substantial changes in overall structures since 1900, few major changes have occurred during the last 10 to 15 years, even though state responsibilities for education have increased. Among recent minor changes have been adjustments of board size and length of terms. Hawaii, Kentucky and Maryland increased state board membership in the last 10 years; Colorado and Mississippi expect to increase membership in 1983 or 1984. Utah will decrease the size of its state board in January 1983. In Connecticut and Minnesota, the terms of state board members have been reduced within the last 10 years.

The most striking feature of state education governance structures is their diversity. As the above paragraphs have indicated, there are many different structural patterns through which states go about the business of policy development, enactment and implementation. It also appears that individual structural approaches reflect the political culture and the traditions of the particular state. Some states emphasize the role of the governor, others the state board, still others the electorate at large.

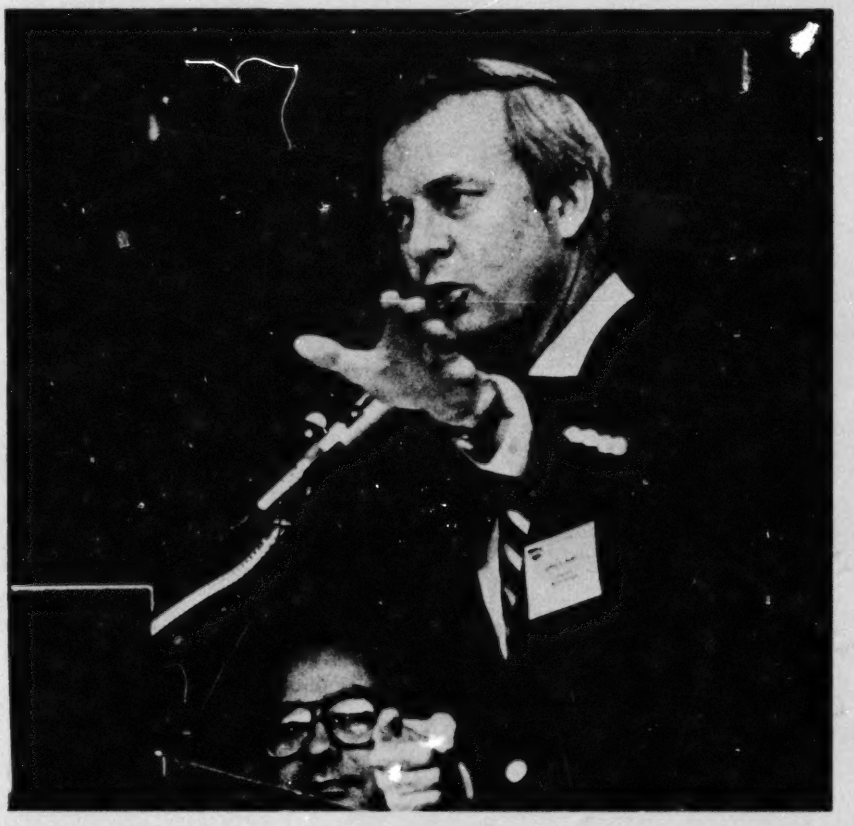
The absence of major structural changes over the last 10 years, despite major changes in the intergovernmental system and society at large, suggests that governance structures at the state level are relatively stable. The real question is, however, whether these structures are adequate to the changes that will take place in the next 10 to 15 years. Will states adapt their resources so they can help local institutions adjust to these changes? The sections that follow examine the major actors in the state education policy process and the roles they can play in adapting to change.

Governors

As the previous section on models of governance suggests, governors have different formal roles in education and different degrees of authority. When budget questions are not at issue, governors in most states have little direct influence except in their appointment of some elements of the education governance structure.*

There are several notable exceptions to this general statement. In the 1970s, a number of governors took an active role in promoting school finance reform and property tax relief. Governors Anderson of Minnesota, Askew of Florida, Reagan of California, Milliken of Michigan, Carey of New York, and Bond and Teasdale of Missouri all provided leadership in promoting significant changes in financing education. Other governors are providing leadership in the 1980s. Governors Hunt of North Carolina, James of Alabama, Riley of South Carolina and du Pont of Delaware are focusing attention on issues of education for economic growth. Upgrading mathematics and science and preparing for the new technology have become important issues for Hunt, Graham of Florida, Robb of Virginia and Alexander of Tennessee.

Despite these instances of gubernatorial leadership, however, it remains true that governors exert relatively little direct influence in education. This is perhaps not surprising. Education is a complicated, complex policy arena; there are few right answers, many wrong ones and many powerful interests that line up on either side of virtually any issue. There are few political rewards in education, even for the most astute, and many potential pitfalls.



Gubernatorial leadership in education is important, as the examples indicated above attest. Recent research on state activity in school improvement reinforces the centrality of leadership from the governor's mansion (McLaughlin, 1982). One real policy question confronting state leaders in the 1980s is how to persuade governors to consider education as a high priority. There is a need to sufficiently increase political incentives (or decrease the disincentives) to encourage governors to exert greater leadership in education.

State Legislatures

Still unresolved is the question of how much leadership state legislatures will provide in setting education policy. Some evidence suggests that their role will increase in importance, though other evidence makes this seem less likely.

In the 1970s legislatures took active roles in a number of important education policy issues. School finance reform absorbed the attention of more than a dozen states. Minimum competency testing and other accountability strategies were enacted in all but a handful of states. Several legislatures created mechanisms for regulatory review.

For the rest of the current decade, states are confronted with significant economic problems. This means that legislatures are being called upon to make major policy decisions. According to a recent study by the National Conference of State Legislatures

*In some states, the governor's office of policy and planning does provide some policy direction to state departments of education.

(NCSL), 19 states ended 1982 with budget deficits (Gold and Benker, 1983). In times like these, tough decisions about funding clearly affect education policy, and it is in the state legislatures that these decisions are being made.

Another indication of leadership is the growing interest of state legislatures in overseeing education activities. According to another recent NCSL study, legislatures are developing new mechanisms to track the impact of new federal block grants like the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981 (Yondorf and Benker, 1982). As indicated by Rosenthal and Fuhrman (1981), legislatures are also developing ways to assess the quality of state programs. "Are we getting our money's worth in education?", asks the public, and some legislatures are actively seeking an answer. Rosenthal and Fuhrman have also found that, to augment their capacity for leadership, legislatures are trying to develop resources and expertise within the legislative branch by increasing the size of legislative staffs. Although legislatures frequently turn to state departments of education for information, legislators do not typically hold state department staff in high regard, according to Rosenthal and Fuhrman.

Arguing against increased legislative leadership in education, however, is another finding by Rosenthal and Fuhrman. They suggest that, as legislative action in education seems less likely, many older, more established leaders are leaving the education policy arena to be replaced by younger, less experienced people. Furthermore, "Not many of the newer people in legislatures have any interest in education. . . . Leadership in education is becoming more discontinuous and unstable and it is diminishing in its appeal" (Rosenthal and Fuhrman, 1981, pp. 104-105). This, too, is not surprising. The political pitfalls of education are just as visible to legislators as they are to governors. It is true that "new ideas" legislators are bolstering the development of legislative policy in education in a few states (see Chapter 6). However, it is not clear whether these legislators will assume more traditional leadership roles in education. Even more uncertain is whether state education policy makers will develop strategies and incentives that will make education a more attractive area for legislative leaders.

State Boards of Education

A central element in a state's education administrative apparatus is the state board of education. Typically, the state board has the primary formal responsibility for establishing policies related to the governance and management of elementary/secondary education. Recently, in response to federal and local pressures, a major task of many state boards has been to review and eliminate unnecessarily burdensome regulations and standards.

There is some evidence that state boards of education are becoming more influential: "Today . . . state boards are attempting to act as independent policy makers. One sign of change has been their strong leadership role in the pupil competency movement. Another has been their increasing reliance on independent staff and consultants" (Wilken, 1981, p. 1). Recent legislative analyses of the state governance process in education in Ohio (1980) and Washington (1982) have underscored the importance of the state board in the state policy process. Maryland's board recently created a commission on teacher quality.

Changes in the structural nature of state boards further emphasize these developments. Since 1900 the number of states with identifiable state boards of education has increased from 34 to 49; only Wisconsin and Puerto Rico have no state board. Although most early state boards had primarily or exclusively ex officio members – mainly elected state officials and often the chief state school officer – there are few boards today on which a majority of the members serve ex officio.

State boards still seem to be in a somewhat ambiguous position. According to a former executive director of the National Association of State Boards of Education, state boards

> . . . have lost prestige. While state boards once were at or near the center of state education policy making, their position has been increasingly eclipsed by activist state legislatures. Indeed, now that education policy making has become such an integral part of the general political process, some state legislatures are inclined to view state boards not as an official part of government, but as simply one more interest group. . . . Finally, and most importantly, a large number of boards have found themselves confronting a serious authority crisis. As the policy making process has become more political, state boards have come under mounting pressure to act on a wide range of policy issues. Yet, at the same time, they are finding it difficult to mobilize the resources and diverse interests required to act effectively. . . . If they defer on important issues, they will eventually be regarded as politically irrelevant. But if they act on issues without adequate support, they not only will be regarded as arbitrary, but also will run the risk of having their decisions countermanded elsewhere. (Wilken, 1981, p. 4)

These rather pessimistic remarks support the conclusion reached in 1976 by Campbell and Mazzoni in **State Policy Making for the Public Schools,** the largest empirical study of state governance in education: most state policy makers do not view state boards of education as significant in the policy arena. There are some notable exceptions to this generalization, however. For example, the New York State Board of Regents has a strong

political tradition and has historically played a prominent role in the policy process.

The reasons why state boards of education are in an ambiguous position regarding policy leadership are difficult to determine.* Wilken has advanced one hypothesis. He argues that

> Many state boards have found themselves saddled with mounting administrative responsibilities. More and more often, boards are spending a high percentage of their time on three duties: (1) assuring compliance with mandates issued by the courts, congress and state legislatures; (2) handling appeals on civil rights questions; and (3) sitting in judgment on personnel issues which cannot be settled locally. To be certain, each of these duties is important. Yet in the final analysis, they limit boards' capacity for policy leadership in two ways. First, they divert attention to questions which usually have little importance for policy. And second, they tend to put boards in a defensive position. As boards perform these duties they are not setting an agenda, but responding to an agenda set somewhere else. (Wilken, 1981, p. 4)

This argument suggests that most of the time board members spend on education is absorbed in administrative and management issues, precluding substantial attention to the important policy questions facing education in the states.

Several approaches for increasing the leadership of state boards have been suggested. One approach is to change board organization and procedures, although there is disagreement about which changes would be most effective.

> Some argue that boards ought to make themselves more visible and accessible to the public. . . . Others suggest that, at least in some cases, boards should be more political. (Wilken, 1981, p. 4)

Related to this is a strategy of increasing the involvement of members by increasing the number of board meetings. Yet another strategy would give boards greater power and authority over their agendas.

A second approach is to increase board use of independent information. In some states, this would involve modifying existing formal and informal relationships between the board and state departments so that boards would not have to rely so heavily on department staff for information. Such an approach would also necessitate increasing a board's ability to hire staff and consultants.

A third approach is to reduce the time boards spend on administrative details and focus their attention on major policy issues (Wilken, 1981). Boards could, for example, improve the prospects for conflict resolution at the local level, increase their oversight of federal programs, study the effects of these programs on state departments of education, and relate policies on finance to implications for service delivery.

State Departments of Education

State departments of education (SDEs) have the major responsibility for administering the policies established by other parts of the system, and, as the research into education implementation attests, administrators do indeed influence policy through their day-to-day decisions and interaction with federal and local officials.

State departments of education are now more modern and better administered than in years past. Larger staffs manage more extensive information and are more responsive to various interests. In 1900, 177 staff members across the country (including chief state school officers) collected a few education statistics. Today, staff members total 36,100. Almost one-third (13,700) are full-time professionals in central offices, 2,500 provide technical assistance through intermediate service units, and 15,100 work in state-operated schools.* Departments grew in size in 30 states from 1972 to 1982, for a 22% overall increase in staff nationwide. Responsibilities have meanwhile expanded to include monitoring various aspects of the performance of local districts administering a complicated array of federal and state categorical grant programs and, most recently, providing more technical assistance to districts. An important new focus of technical assistance is school improvement; virtually every state department of education now administers at least one school improvement effort, more than half the departments administer 6 or more, and several administer more than 10.

However, as Jerry Murphy (1981) has pointed out, the more active SDEs become, the higher the expectations of local districts and the greater their demands for assistance.

Although these rising expectations are difficult to document precisely, ECS has

***The explanation does not seem to lie in state board membership, which seems typical of similar types of organizations. The National Association of State Boards of Education did a survey of the members of state boards and found that two-thirds of them were male, approximately 84% were white, almost two-thirds were 40 to 60 years old, 90% had a college or a graduate degree, 75% were managers or professionals, and most were very active in civic affairs. The level of academic training and professional status suggests that board members frequently have backgrounds that would equip them for policy leadership (Williams, 1981, p. 16).**

***Approximately 4,100 additional staff serve in vocational rehabilitation programs, and 650 in museums and libraries.**

collected statements of goals from most state departments of education that indicate two trends. First, SDEs continue to improve their ability to relate to local districts, through staff improvements, guarantees of equal access, better public relations, better capabilities for comprehensive planning and better technical assistance. Second, in response to public demands, SDEs are paying more attention to the various outcomes of the whole education process through improving the quality of education; providing more training in the basic skills, more job-related training and more career counseling; and developing higher-order skills. Since many SDEs have only recently added goals of the second sort, it appears that SDEs are responding to public interest in the outcomes of education.

The resources available to SDEs have not, however, kept pace with public demands. Now, state funding (which increased in the 1960s and 1970s) is beginning to decline, which means that SDEs may not be able to maintain current staffing. Just as important are the effects of federal retrenchment. Title V of ESEA had been a source of federal support for SDEs, but it has now been consolidated into the ECIA Chapter 2 block grant for which funding has dropped 15%. Cutbacks in programs for special students will also affect SDE staffing: overall Title I appropriations have been reduced, and state administrative support has shrunk to 1% of the reduced grant. States that have simply passed through federal funds will probably not be hurt structurally by these federal cutbacks. But the reverse is likely in states that have acted as full partners in the policy process (McLaughlin, 1982).

To sum up the situation of state departments of education in 1983: two types of problems threaten the major accomplishments of the past 20 years. First, the constantly changing environment in which SDEs must operate, especially in terms of other state policy makers and the shifting focus of the public and of other education interests, makes it very difficult for departments to meet the high expectations set for them. Second, in the foreseeable future, real resources for education will not increase, and may decrease. This fiscal squeeze is likely to result in rethinking the direction of SDEs.

These developments give rise to three major questions, the answers to which may well shape the future. First, how well have state departments integrated various functions, such as information dissemination and technical assistance into the overall structure, and what are the implications of this integration for future organizational changes? Second, even if SDEs expand their capabilities for policy analysis and become more sophisticated in the policy process, will governors and legislators turn to them for advice and guidance? Complicating the situation is the fact that these policy makers are now developing their own analytic capabilities. Third, will the new partnership between SDEs and school districts lead to a manageable set of technical assistance activities, or will the demand for assistance outstrip the departments' ability to supply it?

Chief State School Officers

Since the chief state school officer not only manages the state department of education but also represents the interests of education and the department to the governor and the legislature, he or she needs a multiplicity of talents. According to John Pittinger, a former chief in Pennsylvania, the position calls for someone with these four qualities:

You've got to be a manager when you're a chief. That's clearly one thing that's involved. You've also got to be a politician. You've got to understand what the forces are out there and who has what kind of clout and what kind of trade-offs people will accept. Third, it's helpful to have a persona, a style, a sense of your office and your position to allow you to provide some leadership rather than just respond to forces. And I think you have to have some convictions. There's no

point in being in one of these jobs if you just roll with the punches all the time. I think if a chief were a good manager, a good politician, a charismatic person, and a person with strong convictions, that would be pretty good. (Murphy, 1980, p. 131)

The relative importance of these qualities varies with differences in state culture. In states where the chief state school officers are appointed, there is an emphasis on management, on an ability to direct and keep track of the intricacies of the state department of education. Where chiefs are elected, a premium is placed on political savvy. Leadership and vision are valued in most states, but external factors constrain the direction and extent of leadership a chief can provide. The strength of the legislature and the state board, the initiative and creativity of the governor, the political strength of various interest groups, the nature of the state's economy – all these factors affect a chief's ability to lead. Successful chiefs have often been viewed as those who provide leadership in times of innovation and expanding programs, but now a chief's ability to manage diminishing resources may prove more important.

Choosing a chief state school officer and serving as one both promise to become more difficult. With the advent of perceptive charismatic figures like Harold Reynolds, Calvin Frazier, Donald Roberts and David Hornbeck, the prestige of the office seems to have increased, and the position has become an important part of the state policy making process. At the same time, the job is becoming more difficult, which means that states may have difficulty attracting high caliber candidates. That is, it will be hard to find people who combine strong managerial skills with a sense of vision and an understanding of politics. Improving education in a time of fiscal constraint is a formidable problem for a chief state school officer, especially since greater "efficiency" of some sorts may not necessarily produce better education services.

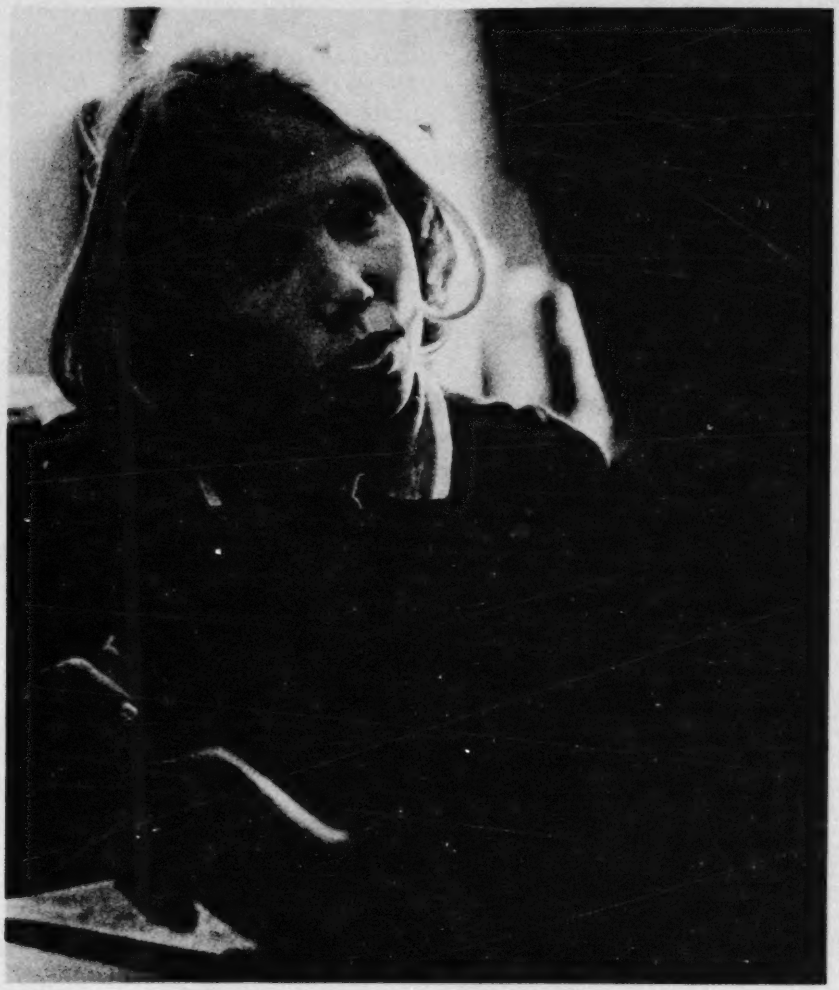
To attract high caliber leaders, states have increased salaries for chief state school officers. From 1978 to 1982, virtually all states increased salaries by some amount, 30 states by at least 25%. The average percentage increase in that four-year period was 28% ($11,300). Today, chiefs in 30 states earn more than $50,000 a year, which in 1978 was true of only seven chiefs.

Under consideration are other ways to make the position of chief state school officer more attractive. One way involves making the position more secure by lengthening the term of office and eliminating "at the pleasure of" clauses. In 21 states, the chief state school officer serves for less than four years or at the pleasure of either the governor or the state board of education, which may increase "accountability" but does limit the security of the position. Increasing the authority of the chief has also been considered. Although giving the chief some responsibility for vocational education and higher education would be politically difficult in some states, it would increase the power of the position. These changes could, in fact, increase the ability of the education system to respond to its changing environment.

Conclusion

During the next few years, as states carry greater financial responsibility for education, they face the necessity – and the opportunity – of becoming stronger leaders in education. It is hypothetically possible that stronger leadership could emerge at all levels of the state education structure and that this could lead to conflict in the system. The more realistic concern, however, is whether **enough** leadership will emerge to guide state education systems through challenging times of limited resources and great expectations. State education policy leaders need to think carefully about strategies for ensuring adequate leadership.

4. State Governance of Higher Education



One of the most critical issues facing state government in 1983 is how to resolve growing tensions between state interests and the traditional prerogatives of higher education.

In a recent speech before the Association of Governing Boards, Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, asserted that if the integrity of higher education is to be preserved, state policy makers

> must give the academy full authority over the selection of faculty, the conduct of courses and research, the processes of instruction, the establishment of academic standards, and the assessment of performance. . . . These functions constitute the essential core of academic life, and it is here that the integrity of the campus must be uncompromisingly defended by the faculty, the president, and most especially by the governing board, which stands as a shield between the campus and the constituencies beyond. (Boyer, 1982, p. 5)

State government is a major "constituency beyond," especially for publicly supported colleges and universities. Governors and state legislators share a direct interest in using state tax dollars efficiently, especially now that fiscal constraints are severe and competition among state-supported institutions and programs is intense. States have constitutional, statutory and historical mandates to ensure that students have access to higher education. Especially over the past two decades, they have spent large sums to create systems of state colleges and universities, community colleges and technical institutes and to provide financial aid to students. As enrollments decline, public resources shrink and public concerns about the quality of higher education intensify, state government officials sense both a desire and an obligation to see that higher education institutions are efficiently managed, education programs of high quality are maintained, unnecessary duplication is eliminated, and key objectives such as access and equal educational opportunity are addressed.

Over the past decade, the states and the higher education community have worked with remarkable harmony to advance public interests yet protect the values of the academy. States have adopted governing arrangements that insulate institutions from direct state control and state politics. But the pressures on state government and on higher education in the 1980s are testing severely these governing arrangements. The politics of retrenchment could conceivably force governors and legislators to intervene in higher education in ways that neither respect the values of the academy nor fulfill long-term public objectives of access and quality.

Following is a discussion of some of the complexities of the state governance of higher education, current governance structures, changes in structures over the past decade, and emerging issues. The term "state governance" refers, as it does in elementary/secondary education, to the total state policy development and implementation process – involving the governor, executive branch agencies, the legislature, higher education boards, institutions and interest groups –

through which higher education policy is formed. The term "higher education" is used synonymously with "postsecondary education," although the latter term would be more appropriate in some instances because of its broader connotation.

Complexity of State Governance

Discussions of state governance of postsecondary education inevitably suffer from the natural tendency to seek simple explanations of complex situations.

- Generalizations are made about state political processes that assume executive and legislative roles and overall political culture are similar in all states.
- It is assumed that state higher education executive officers are an essentially homogeneous group whose authority and influence are similar in all states.
- Some federal officials and members of the national higher education community mistakenly assume that most state higher education agencies originated with federally mandated "1202 Commissions."

Perhaps most prevalent is the tendency to generalize a specific state situation to all states, concluding, for example, that one governance arrangement "works" or another seriously threatens fundamental academic values. The tendency is not surprising, since there has been little analysis of the important yet subtle distinctions among arrangements. It nonetheless results in oversimplification.

Basic State Functions

One way to understand this complexity is to identify basic functions performed by states and then to classify states according to how these functions are handled. Four functions are most frequently used to classify states.

- **Governance of Public Institutions.** All states assign responsibility for the operation of public colleges and universities to **governing boards.** The names of the boards vary, but "board of trustees" and "board of regents" are the most common. The responsibility of these boards is much the same as that of a board of directors of any nonprofit corporation. They hire the chief executive, establish policies and approve actions related to faculty and other personnel, ensure institutional fiscal integrity and perform other planning, policy and management functions. In some states, there is a separate governing board for each public institution; in other states, "multi-campus boards" govern more than one institution or campus. In still other states, "consolidated" governing boards are responsible for all institutions in the state.
- **Comprehensive Planning.** Most states carry out some form of comprehensive planning; that is, planning that examines the long-range higher education needs in the state, establishes state goals and objectives, considers the resources of all institutions in the state (often both public and private institutions), and recommends public policy priorities. In some states, this process is focused on a "master plan;" in others, planning is carried out through special studies of specific issues resulting in a series of reports rather than in a single document.
- **Academic Program Review.** Most states examine proposals from institutions for new academic programs, and an increasing number of states examine existing programs. During the period of rapid growth of the 1960s, states established program review mechanisms to curb unnecessary duplication and encourage development of good programs. Now, as resources and enrollments decline, the emphasis is on providing for orderly modification or termination of programs.
- **Resource Allocation.** All states have processes for reviewing and approving institutional operating and capital budgets and budgets for state student assistance programs.

Beyond these four functions, states administer state and federal grant programs (state student assistance programs are the largest of these) and regulate which institutions can operate within the state (institutional licensure or authorization). (See ECS, 1973 and 1980; Millard, 1976)

State Approaches to Governance

States have selected one of three approaches to the organization of higher education functions.

- Twenty-two states have adopted **consolidated governing board** structures. In these states, most if not all public institutions are governed by a single board. In other words, rather than having governing boards for each institution or for groups of institutions, these states have elected to give one board operating responsibility for all institutions.
- Twenty-six states have adopted **coordinating board** structures. In these states, a state agency has been established between the governing boards of institutions and the governor and legislature. The organization, legal authority and functions of coordinating boards vary greatly from state to state. In general, these boards allow state governments to carry out centralized functions such as comprehensive planning and review of budgets and academic programs, while also allowing for the decentralized management of institutions by governing boards. Coordinating boards also can play a critical role in

negotiating the resolution of tensions between state government and the higher education institutions, or among segments of higher education.

- Two states, both of which are small with only two or three institutions, have neither consolidated governing boards nor coordinating boards. Both have planning agencies that serve as adjuncts to the state budget office.

Differences Among States

In general, systems of higher education are less complex and enrollments are smaller in states that have consolidated governing boards rather than coordinating boards. Seventeen of the 22 states with consolidated governing boards have enrollments in public institutions of less than 100,000; 9 have enrollments of less than 25,000. Exceptions are principally the states that have created consolidated boards over the past decade – Massachusetts, North Carolina and Wisconsin. In contrast, 19 of the 26 states with coordinating boards have enrollments in public institutions of more than 100,000; 9 have enrollments of more than 200,000. To maintain decentralized governance in states with coordinating boards, public institutions are governed by two or more statewide multicampus boards in 9 states and by both multicampus and single-institution boards in the other 16 states.

Governing boards generally function as advocates for the institutions they govern, especially in the budget process. Coordinating boards tend to look at issues from the perspective of state government. Each plays a fundamentally different role in the state policy process.

This difference is most pronounced in comprehensive or master planning. In 1982, 29 states had master plans, 12 were carrying out comprehensive planning as a continuing process or conducting major studies on institutional roles and missions or other policy issues, and 9 had no identifiable planning efforts. All nine were states with consolidated governing boards. Further, planning by governing board states almost always focuses on the needs of the institutions governed, which means that these states generally lack formal mechanisms for comprehensive statewide planning. An exception to this pattern: the Iowa Coordinating Council for Post-High School Education, a voluntary organization (but visibly effective one), coordinates cooperative planning among all Iowa institutions (public and private).

States with coordinating boards centralize certain state-level functions that governing boards do not ordinarily perform. For example, governing boards usually do not perform state government functions that apply to independent institutions or to public institutions they do not govern (often community colleges or technical institutes). They usually do not administer federal and state student financial assistance and institutional grant programs (although there are several exceptions in the area of student aid), and they also do not ordinarily license or authorize institutions. States with governing boards also usually find it necessary to carry out elsewhere in the executive and legislative branches certain oversight functions related to all higher education sectors such as budget analysis, program review or analysis of program duplication.

In general, then, states find that consolidated governing boards can address some objectives, like providing a single accountability point for the efficient management of public institutions, but that certain "state interest" functions must be performed elsewhere in the executive and legislative branches of state government. Coordinating boards generally perform these "state interest" functions, although (as stressed earlier) the extent to which states consolidate all functions under one coordinating board varies greatly from state to state.

Differences within the categories of "governing board" and "coordinating board" states are almost as great as the differences between them. For example, although some older governing boards in smaller states have not moved beyond the ministerial functions required to run the institutions under their control, a very different statewide perspective is characteristic of consolidated governing boards established recently because the legislature and the governor saw the need for tough policy choices in the face of declining enrollments and shrinking financial resources.

The variations among coordinating boards more often than not relate to intangible personal and political factors more than to formal authority. These factors may include the prestige and political influence of board members, the ability and creativity of the board's chief executive, the board's reputation with institutions for fairness and objectivity, or the confidence and respect of the state legislature for the board's staff work and recommendations.

Governance Structures in 1983

Table 1 classifies the principal governance structures for higher education that were in effect on Jan. 1, 1983. (The classifications are based on those Berdahl [1971] developed, in that the state board's authority to review academic programs is used as the major determinant of the "strength" of the board.) The consolidated governing boards clearly have the most control of the institutions they govern, in terms of programs and budget; the coordinating boards listed on the left have more authority than those on the right. While Table 1 gives the impression that the program and budget functions of boards are separate, they are integrally related in most states that give boards responsibilities in both areas. In fact, an

agency's authority in the budget area often gives it the power to determine whether academic programs are established, modified or terminated.

Table 1 lists six states twice (Alaska, Florida, Maine, New Hampshire, Oregon and South Dakota) since each of them has a statutory planning or coordinating agency as well as a major consolidated governing board. Those agencies with the broadest formal authority are found in Oregon, Alaska and Florida. (The Florida reference in brackets is to the State Board of Education, which is responsible for all levels of education. Under the jurisdiction of this board are the Board of Regents of the State University System, the Division of Community Colleges and the Community College Coordinating Board. The Board of Education is advised by the statutory Postsecondary Education Planning Commission.)

With the exceptions of Maine and South Dakota, where the commissions have been largely inactive in recent years, the bracketed agencies perform functions not performed by the governing boards, such as statewide planning for all higher education sectors, administration of state aid programs (Alaska, Florida and New Hampshire), and administration of institutional authorization laws.

The table shows eight states (Idaho, Montana, Florida, Pennsylvania, New York, Oregon, Michigan and South Dakota) where boards are responsible for all levels of education. The extent to which these agencies exercise this broad authority varies greatly, however. The boards in Florida, Pennsylvania and New York are the most comprehensive in their involvement with all levels of education and in their planning, coordinating and regulatory functions. In contrast, the state board of education in Michigan focuses primarily on elementary/secondary education and plays an extremely limited planning and coordinating role in higher education. The Oregon Educational Coordinating Commission is the state planning body for all levels of education and has played an important advisory role in the budget process, but the principal policy boards are the state board of education and the board of higher education. The Idaho board serves as the State Board of Education and also as the Board of Regents for the state institutions of higher education, but the state elementary/secondary staffs are responsible to an elected state superintendent and the higher education staffs are responsible to the director of the office of the state board who is

TABLE 1. 1983 Status of State Boards of Higher Education

Consolidated Governing Boards		Coordinating Boards							Planning Agencies
		With Program Approval Authority			With Program Review and Recommendation Authority Only				
Board for All Public Institutions	Board for All Senior Institutions – Separate Agency for Community Colleges	Consolidated or Aggregated Budget	Budget Review and Recommendation	No Statutory Budget Role	Consolidated or Aggregated Budget	Budget Review and Recommendation	No Statutory Budget Role or Program Approval		
Georgia	Arizona	Connecticut	Colorado	New York[1]	Alabama	[Alaska]	[New Hampshire]		Delaware
Hawaii	Iowa	Illinois	Indiana		Arkansas	[Oregon]	Nebraska		Vermont
Idaho[1]	Kansas	New Jersey	Kentucky			California	[Maine]		
Massachusetts	Mississippi	Ohio	Louisiana			Minnesota	[South Dakota[1]]		
Montana[1]	North Carolina	Oklahoma	Missouri			Washington			
Nevada	Florida[1]	South Carolina	New Mexico			Michigan[1]			
North Dakota	[Oregon[1]]	Maryland	Tennessee			[Florida[1a]]			
Rhode Island	Wyoming		Texas						
Utah			Pennsylvania[1]						
West Virginia			Virginia						
Wisconsin									
Alaska									
Maine									
New Hampshire									
South Dakota									

Key: [ ] Separate statutory coordinating agency
1 States with agency responsible for all levels of education
a No program review authority

Source: Education Commission of the States, 1983.

appointed by the board. The Montana Board of Education is the combination of two boards – the Board of Public Education and the Board of Regents – and actually functions only as a coordinating mechanism between two largely independent subparts. The South Dakota Department of Education and Cultural Affairs includes three education divisions (elementary/secondary, vocational-technical and higher education), but each division has either constitutional or statutory authority of its own. Therefore, the overall department plays only a planning and coordinating role among the relatively independent divisions.

Trends in State Structure

Changes From 1972 to 1979

The year 1972 marked the culmination of more than a decade of development of state higher education agencies formed to coordinate the massive expansion of higher education in the late 1950s and 1960s. By 1972, 47 states had established either consolidated governing boards or statewide coordinating boards. Also by then, the twin pressures of recession and of stable or declining enrollments had changed the concern for orderly growth to a concern for orderly retrenchment.

From 1972 to 1979, 13 states (Alaska, California, Connecticut, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Montana, North Carolina, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Washington and Wisconsin) made significant changes in state higher education governance.

- North Carolina and Wisconsin eliminated coordinating boards and merged all public four-year colleges and universities under a single consolidated governing board.
- California, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Oregon, South Carolina and Washington either strengthened an existing coordinating board or replaced that board with a stronger but similar board.
- Alaska established a planning commission in addition to the existing governing board.
- Montana modified its unique state board of education structure that combines the board of public education and the governing board for higher education.
- South Dakota created a new executive department of education and cultural affairs encompassing separate boards for elementary/secondary, vocational-technical and higher education.

One factor affecting state governance of higher education in the 1970s was the implementation of the "1202 Commissions" established by section 1202 of the federal Higher Education Act as amended in 1972. Section 1202 was enacted to meet three important objectives: (1) federal recognition and reinforcement of existing statewide planning efforts, (2) encouragement of a broader scope for comprehensive planning and broader participation in the planning process by independent and private proprietary institutions and (3) flexibility for states to organize – and perhaps consolidate – state agencies that administer federal programs. But its provisions stimulated intense debate.

- Institutional representatives argued that the provisions were an inappropriate federal intrusion into state prerogatives and, above all, an undesirable federal reinforcement of recent state efforts to increase government intervention in campus affairs.
- Many state representatives argued that the detailed federal requirements for institutional "representatives" on designated agencies would require states to reverse the trend toward lay boards and, in some instances, would require the establishment of entirely new agencies.

Although federal funding for comprehensive planning grants was extremely limited, 48 states had designated or established 1202 Commissions by 1979; North Carolina and Wisconsin declined to participate.

Despite a concern that the 1202 Commissions would lead to establishment of many new state agencies, 36 states designated existing state agencies. The remaining 12 states established planning commissions with no role in the program review and budget processes. In general, new commissions were established where no agency existed before (Nebraska, Delaware and Vermont) or where existing governing boards for public institutions were not appropriate for the comprehensive planning for all postsecondary education.

In 1980, Congress eliminated the requirement that states establish planning commissions and replaced it with a simplified "state agreement." Funding for related programs was first severely reduced and then terminated by fiscal year 1982. As a consequence, states now have little need to retain commissions formed for federal purposes only.

In the late 1970s, states significantly increased their efforts to develop comprehensive statewide or master plans. These efforts reflected a significant broadening of concern from public higher education alone to all of postsecondary education. In other ways, the 1202 Commissions appear to have had limited effect on state higher education governance. In Vermont and Delaware, where no statewide governing or coordinating board has been established, the planning commissions are being continued with state funding to perform planning and analysis tasks for the state budget office. The new commissions in Wyoming and several other states have now ceased to function without federal funding. In states where existing coordinating or governing boards were designated as the

1202 Commissions, the existing boards continue to perform their state functions but the 1202 Commission activity has ceased.

Recent Changes

Major changes. From 1979 to the present, five states (Connecticut, Florida, Kentucky, Massachusetts and Rhode Island) have significantly reorganized state governance of higher education.

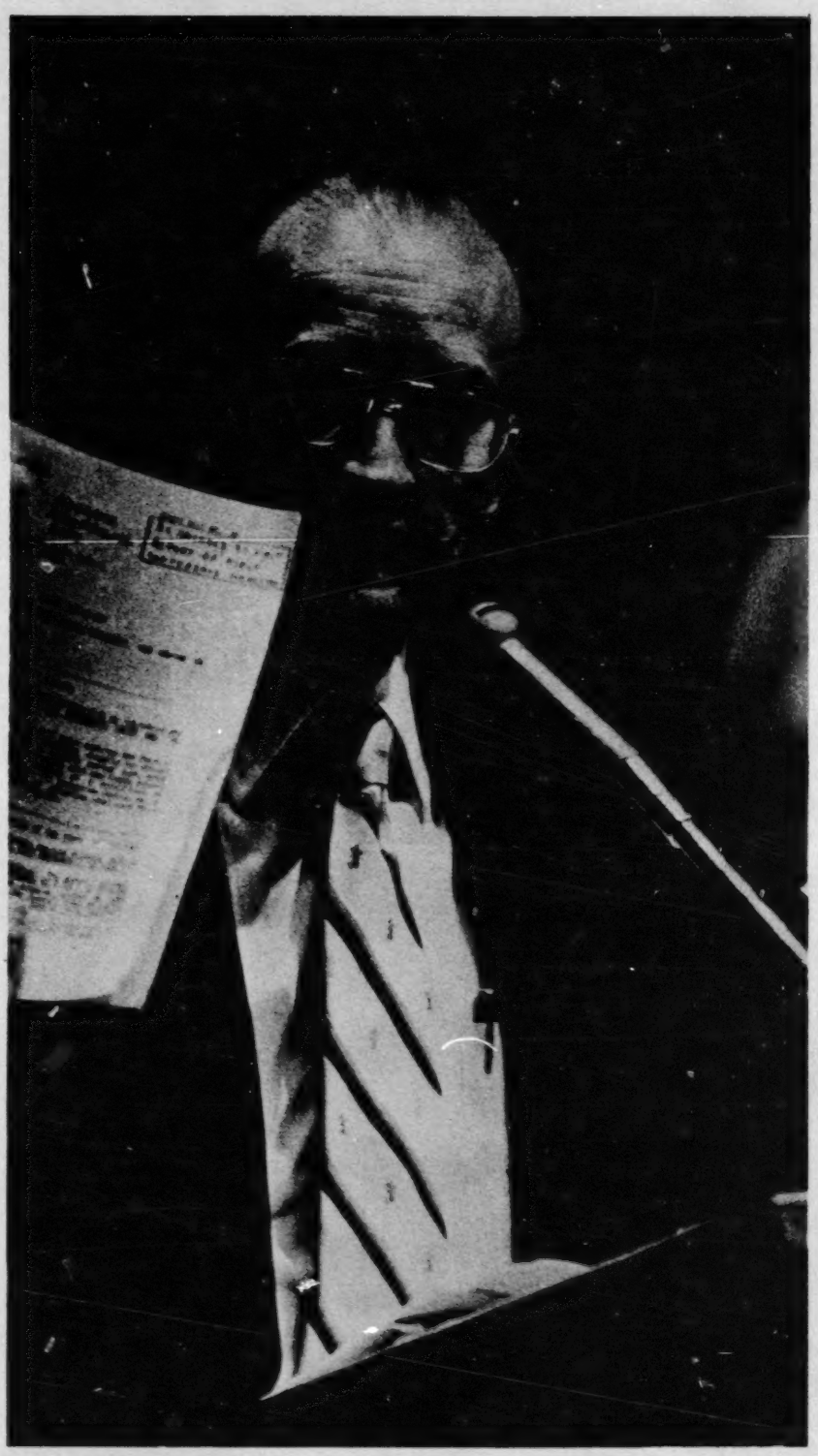
- In Connecticut a decade-long debate about higher education governance culminated with the enactment in 1982 (effective March 1983) of legislation replacing the Board of Higher Education with a new Board of Governors over a Department of Higher Education headed by a Commissioner. While technically still a "coordinating board," the new board has substantially greater authority in the budget process. It also has authority to close or merge institutions, subject to legislative veto.
- In Florida major changes proposed in 1980-81 resulted in increased independence of the state universities from the Board of Regents, which is the consolidated governing board for all public senior institutions. The State Postsecondary Education Planning Commission, an advisory body to the State Board of Education, was given statutory authority to develop a state master plan and carry out related functions.
- In Kentucky the governor reconstituted the Council on Higher Education by executive order in 1980. He removed the eight university presidents from nonvoting membership, expanded the lay membership and retained the state superintendent of public instruction as an ex officio nonvoting member. He also increased the council's authority to oversee the student financial aid agency. Then, in 1982, the state legislature changed the council's composition and powers, largely following the outline of the governor's executive order but adding two members to represent the house and senate.
- In Massachusetts a rider to a bill on the state budget in 1980 ended a decade-long debate about alternative governing arrangements. The rider abolished the coordinating board (the Board of Higher Education), an executive office of educational affairs, and the governing boards for the state and community colleges. It established for the 28 public institutions in the commonwealth a single governing board, the Board of

Regents of Higher Education, which became effective on March 1, 1981.

- In Rhode Island the Regents for Education (established in 1969 as a single governing board for elementary, secondary, adult and vocational, and higher education) was replaced by three separate boards, created by 1981 legislation: the Board of Governors for Higher Education, the Board of Regents for Elementary and Secondary Education, and the Public Telecommunications Authority. The new structure became effective July 1, 1981.

Changes in major sectors. Although overall structure did not change in North Carolina and Pennsylvania, both states have recently made changes affecting major sectors of postsecondary education.

- North Carolina in 1979 created the Board of Community Colleges and Technical Institutes, taking responsibility for these institutions away from the State Board of Education and consolidating previously separate state-level governance arrangements, effective Jan. 1, 1981. (The other major state-level higher education body is the Board of Governors of the University of North Carolina, a consolidated governing board for the state's senior institutions.)
- Pennsylvania enacted legislation in late 1982 establishing a new system for state-owned institutions of higher education under a Board of Governors and Chancellor (state-owned colleges were previously governed by the State Board of Education with the assistance of a Board of State College and University Directors). State-related universities and community colleges are not included in the new structure, and the State Department of Education retains planning and coordinating responsibilities in higher education.



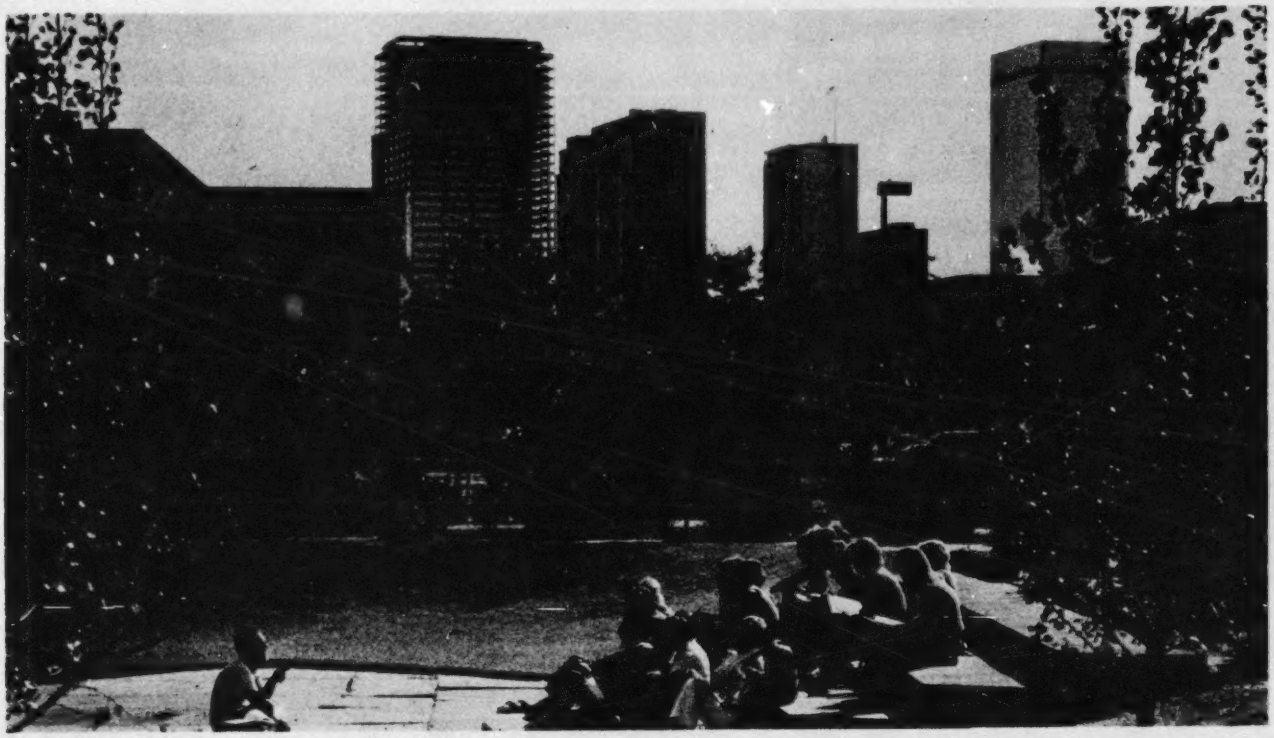
Reorganization proposed. At the present time, 10 to 15 states are seriously reconsidering their higher education governance structures. In other words, a major proposal has been presented (by the governor, a blue ribbon commission or interim legislative study committee), or at least one bill has advanced to the hearing stage or beyond in the legislature. In some of these states, a change may be enacted in 1983; in others, reorganization will be studied by an interim legislative committee or considered in next year's legislature.

Following is a review of the major kinds of proposals being considered.

(1) Strengthening overall state coordination. In four or five states, the debate focuses on alternatives for strengthening state coordination, through increasing the powers of an existing coordinating board or through creating a single consolidated governing board for all public higher education. The debates are similar to those that took place in Massachusetts, where a consolidated governing board replaced a coordinating board, and in Connecticut, where a stronger coordinating board replaced a similar board.

It is difficult to assess whether interest in the consolidated governing board approach has increased in recent years. It is clear, however, that state political leaders are increasingly interested in mechanisms that they believe will be powerful enough to eliminate unnecessary duplication and to merge or close institutions. The particular structural approach, whether coordinating board or consolidated governing board, is probably less important than the unique political situation and traditions in any given state.

(2) Governing postsecondary vocational-technical institutions and community colleges. During the 1960s and 1970s, states, often with strong local support, encouraged the expansion of community colleges offering a variety of associated degree programs in occupational/technical fields. These community colleges were governed by a higher education board or had their own state-level coordinating mechanism. About the same time, some states permitted the development of area vocational schools, sometimes as grade 13 and 14 programs at the public schools, and sometimes as separate technical institutes. But to be eligible for federal funds under the Vocational Education Act, these schools had to be "under the supervision of" the State Board of Vocational Education (usually the state board for elementary/secondary education), which meant that postsecondary nondegree technical programs often served the same regions as community colleges. In recent years, a growing number of area schools or technical institutes have sought to offer associate degrees. In some states, meanwhile, four-year institutions opened branch campuses offering



associate degree occupational programs, often in regions already served by technical institutes, area schools or community colleges.

For various political and jurisdictional reasons, states generally did not address the possibility of unnecessary duplication during the 1960s and 1970s. Proposals for consolidation were soundly defeated, with legitimate substantive reasons adduced for setting vocational-technical programs apart from the more academic community colleges. But in the last several years, governors and state legislators are seriously questioning the current arrangements. As their interest in economic development grows, they are trying to increase the effectiveness of state investment in employment-related education and training and questioning the connection between education-based programs and training programs.

(3) Consolidating/reorganizing governance of major state university sectors. Consolidating or regrouping the governance of state colleges and universities has been raised as a possibility in at least five states. The expectation is that grouping institutions with similar missions or in the same region under a single governing board will force this board to confront the issues of quality and program duplication that arise as enrollments and fiscal resources decline. In some instances, the hope is that a board removed from the formal political process will fight the tough political battles about terminating programs and merging or closing institutions. In other instances, separately governed state colleges and universities support consolidation in the hopes that a single board will compete more successfully with a flagship public university for legislative support.

(4) Coordinating elementary/secondary and postsecondary education. Eight states have boards or agencies that encompass all levels of education – kindergarten through graduate school.

As indicated earlier, however, not all these function in such a comprehensive manner. No state has created such a structure in the past decade and one state, Rhode Island, recently dismantled its board for all levels of education. Nevertheless, the issue of coordination between elementary/secondary and higher education is a priority, one that a number of governors and state legislators are considering. In most states, coordination issues are being handled by joint committees of the state boards responsible for the two levels of education. Proposals to establish a single board for all levels are being seriously discussed in a few states. But the extremely broad span-of-control that would be assigned to a single board raises questions. So does the difficulty of combining the responsibility for strategic planning and policy formulation with responsibility for policy implementation, regulation and governance of institutions.

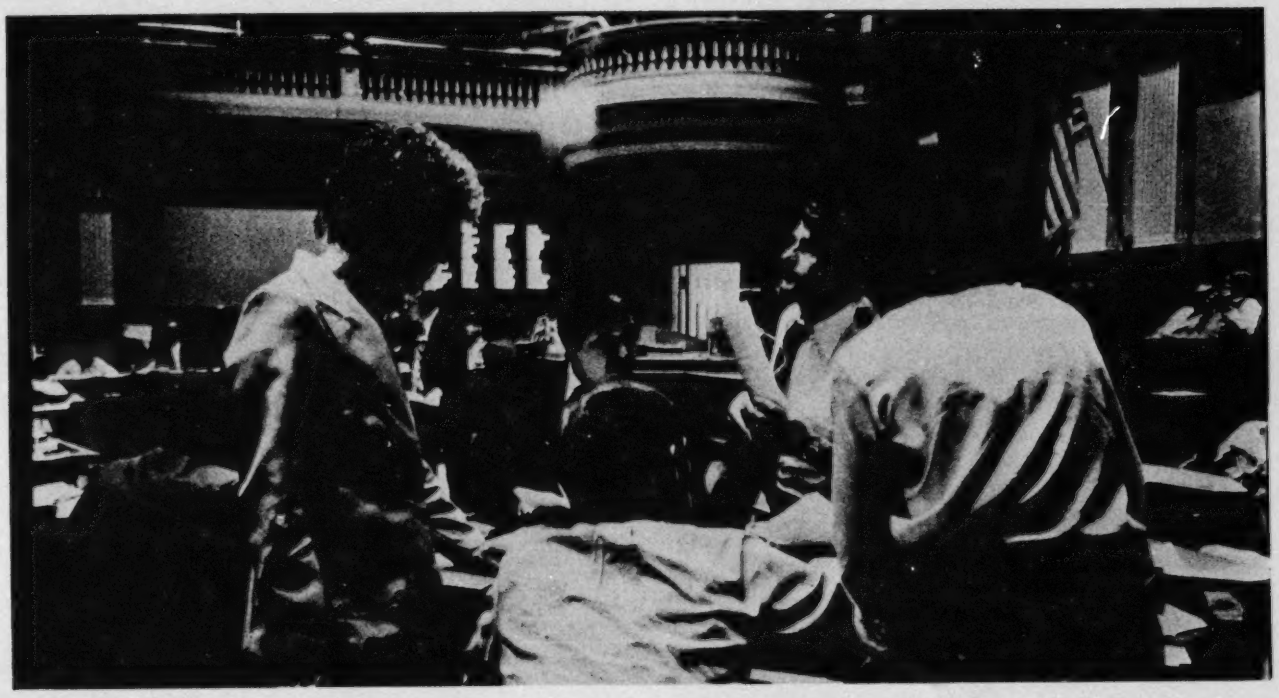
Although one-third of the states are considering governance changes, governance structures in the states are generally not uncertain. In fact, within the past decade, a degree of stability has been achieved in both coordinating and governing board states where intense debates had occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In practically every state in almost any legislative session, however, one can expect a bill to be introduced to abolish the existing higher education board. In all but a few instances, these bills are sponsored by legislators who disagree with a specific action by the board or who are acting on behalf of a disgruntled institution in their district. Such bills seem the natural consequence of a state board doing its job.

Issues

The foregoing analysis has focused on state structure generally and particularly on the various mechanisms states use for planning, coordination and governance. Following are brief descriptions of some of the major issues that seem likely to arise in the governance of higher education as the 1980s continue.

Continuing Priority of Comprehensive or Master Planning

Although early commentators on statewide coordination (Glenny, 1959; Berdahl, 1971; Carnegie, 1971) were concerned that planning, however important, might not become a state priority, only a few states now report no planning effort, and more than half the states place a high priority on



developing or revising a master plan. In many states, the planning process is more critical to the effectiveness of a coordinating board than planning documents. These states use the process to inform policy makers about higher education issues and to improve the quality of political actions on higher education, often depending less on making visible policy decisions or taking regulatory action than on providing informal but credible analysis and counsel to the legislature and executive branch.

Increasing Emphasis on Reviewing Existing Programs

When most coordinating boards were first established in the 1950s and 1960s, the emphasis was on reviewing or approving new programs (including schools, campuses and institutions). In 1971, Berdahl commented, for example, that most decisions by state boards

> . . . will pertain to new developments, from establishing campuses to creating degree programs. . . . Only rarely will ongoing programs be jeopardized in any way. . . . In a few instances, states have empowered agencies to recommend the elimination of existing programs found to result in wasteful duplication, but given the current need for expansion of both the number and types of programs, the probable state role is that of traffic cop for new programs rather than a destroyer of old ones. (Berdahl, 1971, p. 13)

Now the situation is quite different. The New York Board of Regents began to review doctoral programs in the early 1970s. Illinois, Louisiana and Washington soon followed with similar efforts, and now most coordinating and governing boards in the nation have revised their review processes to give a new emphasis to existing programs. In South Carolina and several states, this change has resulted from amendments to an agency's authorizing statutes. In Massachusetts and Connecticut, reorganization of governance made explicit provision for merging and closing campuses or institutions. Consolidated governing boards have generally had authority to review existing programs but, for political and substantive reasons, have exercised this authority only recently. Another change: in many states, the functions of reviewing programs and budgets are being carried out together and in some states decisions to modify or terminate programs are being made more in the budget process than in a separate program review process.

There is perhaps no other area in which the tensions between state government and institutions of higher education are greater than in program review. In summarizing the findings of a recent Carnegie Foundation report on *Control of the Campus*, Ernest Boyer emphasized the concern that program review by state agencies "could by accident or design fundamentally change the mission of a campus through a process in which neither the president nor the faculty nor especially the governing board has been involved" (Boyer, 1982, p. 6). Almost without exception, the review processes that governing and coordinating boards are using include lengthy negotiations and the extensive involvement of presidents, faculty and others. They also tend to assign a high priority to initial institutional self-evaluations using time-honored procedures such as the use of highly respected external consultants in the program area under review.

The heart of the problem, however, is that few governing board members, presidents or faculty will volunteer to terminate their own institutions or programs. Even if they secretly agree that termination is justified, they would prefer to put the blame for it elsewhere. But some programs or whole colleges are going to have to be closed or merged; to continue public subsidy for all activities without regard for quality or possible duplication will only spread declining resources over increasingly mediocre institutions or redundant programs and services. Almost without exception, recent gubernatorial or legislative initiatives to change governance structures can be traced to pressure for (or opposition to) terminating or merging programs or institutions. The issue facing state leaders and the academic community is how to accomplish the necessary retrenchment yet protect basic state interests and, to the extent possible, the time-honored prerogatives of campuses – of presidents and faculty – to carry out basic academic functions free of government intrusion.

Increasing Number of Issues That Single Institutions Cannot Address Alone

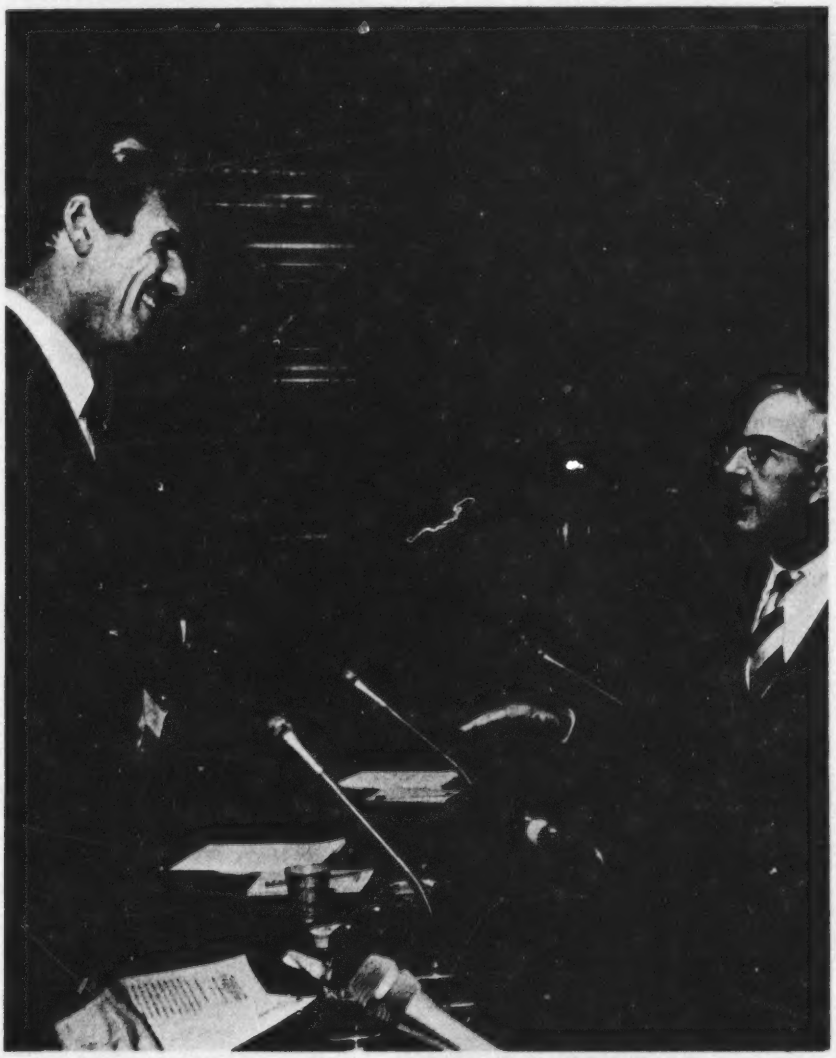
An increasing number of issues affect all of postsecondary education and its relationship to other state government priorities. None of these issues can realistically be addressed by single institutions acting independently, and each presents unique governance problems for governors, legislators and other state officials. Some primary concerns include:

- The effectiveness of the state's involvement in vocational-technical and occupational education and in employment and training programs, especially since state governance of these programs is now splintered;
- The interrelationship of the quality of secondary education, higher education admission standards, the differing missions of colleges and universities and the growing state investment in postsecondary remedial programs;
- The adequacy of students' preparation in science, mathematics and the higher order skills they need to work in a high technology, service-oriented economy; and
- The complex financial interrelationships of tuition policy, subsidies to institutions, student assistance and policies related to independent institutions.

Most states are addressing these issues in 1983, some primarily through state higher education agencies, others through joint efforts of these agencies and elementary/secondary agencies, others through legislative interim study committees, and still others through task forces or blue ribbon commissions.

Innovation in Budgetary and Other Finance Mechanisms

More and more, states are modifying budget formulas, budget procedures, tuition and financial aid policies, and other financing mechanisms to provide incentives for improved management and quality in higher education. These changes are having subtle but important effects on relationships between states and institutions. Several states are implementing changes that will decentralize decision making on some financial matters to the campus level and are relying more on market forces than on regulatory actions to accomplish state objectives. To an extent, these kinds of changes may be alternatives to major reorganization of governance for states seeking to stimulate institutions to improve the quality of their programs and improve the efficiency of their operations in a period of retrenchment.



Conclusion

As the tensions of retrenchment increase, states are exploring a variety of means to address certain "state interest" public policy concerns while, to the extent feasible, respecting time-honored values of the academic community. As reviewed in this chapter, a number of states have recently reorganized or are currently considering reorganization of their higher education governance structures. Some states are strengthening existing coordinating board structures, others are considering consolidated governing boards, and still others are reorganizing major sectors of their higher education systems. In the majority of states, however, progress is being made on retrenchment issues by means other than reorganization: by expanded comprehensive planning, changes in procedures for review of budgets or academic programs, or by joint planning efforts among state boards. The growing tensions between states and institutions demand a careful assessment of a variety of strategies before a specific choice is made. If reorganization is the choice, much can be learned from the experience of other states about the effects of different structures. But one should be careful not to oversimplify the complexity of state governance and to assume that what works in one state will necessarily work in another. Reorganization should be considered as only one of several possible means available to state policy makers to achieve their objectives.

Part Two

ECS Studies in Education Governance

5. Blue Ribbon Commissions

Education policy options frequently emerge on the state policy agenda through the initiative of the legislature or the governor. The executive and legislative branches in turn use various mechanisms to study problems and develop policy alternatives, among them the establishment of a blue ribbon commission or task force. Although most commissions serve the same basic function – allowing political leaders and citizens to participate jointly in the development of policy – state leaders must choose among a variety of options for creating commissions and planning commission operations and activities.

Past Practice

The use of blue ribbon commissions is neither an isolated nor a recent phenomenon. Such commissions were established as early as the 1920s to investigate, plan and assess public policy in education. Commissions at the time tended to address broad education issues, an approach that changed during the 1940s and 1950s when special commissions were set up to help states develop policies on specific issues. During the 1960s, blue ribbon commissions were still used to generate policy alternatives, but their effectiveness was challenged by critics who pointed out the limitations of creating short-lived organizations to address long-term problems. This led to revised expectations about what study commissions can accomplish. But commissions continue to be used, and used effectively, to examine a wide range of state education policy questions. For example, from 1965-1979, 22 states created at least one commission specifically concerned with issues of higher education. Topics addressed in recent years have included accountability in the schools, vocational education, school finance, the implementation of desegregation regulations and general planning for the future. Results have ranged from formal implementation of commission recommendations in new legislation to informal placing of a topic on a state's policy agenda.

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ECS Study

To explore the ways state leaders can structure and use commissions and thus to help guide them in this aspect of policy development, staff in the Education Governance Center undertook a two-stage study. First, a consultant who had recently analyzed two postsecondary commissions in depth identified primary decision points in the structure and functioning of postsecondary commissions (Johnson, 1982). Second, ECS staff, guided by the results of this earlier study, interviewed commissioners and staff of seven other commissions in five states.

These commissions were geographically diverse and had addressed elementary/secondary concerns and postsecondary concerns, or – where possible – both types of concerns. The officials interviewed by telephone usually included the staff director, the chairperson or an influential commission member, and someone outside the commission who was

directly knowledgeable about its workings and its impact on policy initiatives in the state. Although neither the sample of commissions nor the sample of respondents is truly representative in a statistical sense, ECS staff feel that their findings have substantial validity and are therefore useful to other states seeking to establish commissions.

Findings

Although the commissions selected had considered a variety of substantive topics, they all shared four characteristics: (1) they were created by the governor or the legislature; (2) they had predetermined starting dates and ending dates; (3) they were all "blue ribbon," in the sense that commissioners were respected citizens from across the state; and (4) they all recommended revisions in state education policy. In addition, ECS staff found a variety of patterns in the creation, operations and activities of commissions. These patterns are discussed below. (Table 2 summarizes the significant characteristics of all the commissions studied.)

Creating the Commission

The objectives established for the study commissions were of three basic types. One type was **problem-solving in policy development,** which generally led to the passage of new legislation to modify state policy. Sometimes, the problems to be solved were broad. One commission developed a complex school finance formula, for example, and others changed the governance structure of higher education or elementary/secondary education. At other times, the problem was quite narrow, as it was for the development of a desegregation plan to meet federal guidelines. A second type of objective was the **establishment of a planning or review process.** An example from the ECS survey: the development of a master plan for postsecondary education. A third type was the **establishment of an agenda for state education policy makers.** This was frequently the objective when a commission considered an issue that was very broad, controversial, or not widely understood. One state used this type of objective for a study of the complex issue of accountability.

An observation reported by each study commission was that clarity of charge did not necessarily affect the commission's ability to deal with that charge. If a study commission had enough time to function, it limited the scope of its agenda. For instance, a commission in one state that was asked to explore what education would be like in the year 2000 ultimately produced very specific decisions on school finance formulas, on the election of school boards and on state-mandated courses in elementary and secondary schools.

Commissioners

Two characteristics of commission membership were common to most of the commissions. First, commissioners were usually citizens from across the state, chosen to represent a balance of interests and segments of the population. Second, when the objective was to pass legislation, legislators were included as members. "To avoid frustrations on the implementation side, more involvement by the governor and the legislature is required."

Otherwise, few set patterns emerged. Commission size varied, ranging from 5 to 34 members. Some commissions involved educators, arguing that their professional expertise constituted an important resource for determining what was educationally possible. Other commissions deliberately avoided such appointments. The creators of one commission consciously chose commissioners and staff from outside the education establishment and organized interests: "We were concerned about integrity. We did not want to experience a professional take-over. We were afraid that we would end up with the professionals just talking to each other." In all cases where education organizations were not represented on commissions, however, they were invited to make presentations at commission meetings or at public hearings.

Two other characteristics of commissions proved important. One was the amount of time commissioners could give to the work of the commission. People who had the time to attend meetings, to review materials between meetings and to participate in subcommittee activities where appropriate, were more valuable members than those with too little time. Serving effectively on a commission usually absorbed 10% to 25% of a member's working time and often 20% to 50% of the chairperson's time. The second important characteristic was the extent and type of commission leadership. Strong leadership was important, although the source of leadership varied. In postsecondary education commissions, the chairperson tended to carry the major burden of leadership, but in elementary/secondary commissions the chairperson was not always the sole source of leadership.

Role of the Governor

In most cases, the governor was instrumental in the creation of the study commission, and then assumed a less active, hands-off role during its deliberations. When the legislature established the commission, the involvement of the governor was less strong but still important.

Operations

The commissions studied by ECS staff seemed to follow a five-step process: (1) **definition of the task** before them; (2) **accumulation of information** on the topics they wished to cover; (3) **analysis of this information;** (4) **development of recommendations;** and (5) where possible, **enactment of recommendations** into legislation and their subsequent implementation. One staff director argued strongly that "those setting up the commission should design and plan the whole process, from task definition to recommendation implementation."

Not all commissions needed to undertake all five steps. For example, the commission that developed a desegregation plan began its deliberations with the first two steps completed, since it worked under a mandate that had already defined the task and previous efforts at desegregation had already produced large quantities of useful information.

As commissions carried out this process, issues seemed to arise in several areas.

1. **Time frame.** The length of time commissions were in existence varied widely. One commission met for only two months; others met for as long as two years. The length of time was generally related to the scope and specificity of the mandate, and to the number of steps already completed in the process. The desegregation commission, for example, met for two months, but commissions with broad, unspecified charges tended to meet for longer periods.

2. **Staffing.** Because the commissions met for limited periods of time, full-time professional staffs were generally small, ranging from 1 to 12 people. However, the full-time in-house staff was often augmented by graduate students; in-kind contributions of staff time by outside agencies (e.g., the governor's office, the state education agency, the legislature or businesses); and outside consultants. In one commission, full-time staff consisted solely of the staff director, who had been the governor's education aide, supplemented by graduate students and consultants.

All of the commissions surveyed used outside consultants to some extent, in most cases to accumulate and analyze information or to bring a fresh and informed perspective to difficult or controversial issues. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that every consultant was unbiased. In one case, the creators of a commission hired a consultant because they wanted him to argue for a specific point of view. Or, as one respondent said, "You can buy consultants with any perspective you want."

3. **Funding.** The study commissions surveyed were funded by a variety of sources. Frequently, legislative appropriations provided partial or total financial support. In a few cases, the governor's office also provided some funding. Both branches also provided in-kind staff contributions in two or three cases. Private foundations and businesses made financial contributions to several of the commissions. State education agencies and postsecondary education agencies also provided in-kind support to most of the commissions. One commission adopted an interesting approach to funding: it incorporated as

a nonprofit organization and then sought tax deductible donations from private corporations. It succeeded in raising $300,000.

Most of the people who were interviewed stated that the funding obtained for commission activities was adequate. One respondent even said that, "More money would have gotten in the way."

4. **Schedule of meetings.** The study commissions surveyed generally met every four to six weeks. Sometimes, however, meetings were unevenly spaced because some steps in the study process required more attention from the commissioners than others. Issues that required very frequent meetings were often addressed by subcommittees that reported back to the entire commission.

Commission Activities

The respondents commented on several aspects of commission activities.

1. **Planned agenda.** Respondents felt that agenda planning was an important component of positive, useful commission meetings. In many cases, meetings focused on a presentation by staff or consultants of a particular topic or set of topics. This type of focused presentation allowed commissioners to become familiar with the substantive details of policy problems and engendered in-depth discussions of particular aspects of these problems.

2. **Public participation.** Respondents had mixed reactions about using public hearings to obtain citizen input. In one state, a commission held a large number of public hearings to assist in formulating policy, which commission members and staff found a valuable process. In another state, only a few public hearings were held at the outset, but the commission sponsored a final conference of more than 600 delegates from across the state to help implement the commission's recommendations. This strategy was characterized as very useful to the implementation process. Elsewhere, commissions took testimony from organized groups at public hearings or at commission meetings, which allowed groups to present their viewpoints without serving as commission members.

In a few cases, however, public hearings were judged not very useful. A few respondents reported that turnouts were disappointing and that the commissions obtained little useful information. "Our hearings did not work very well," commented one of them. "It's hard to get a public town hall going."

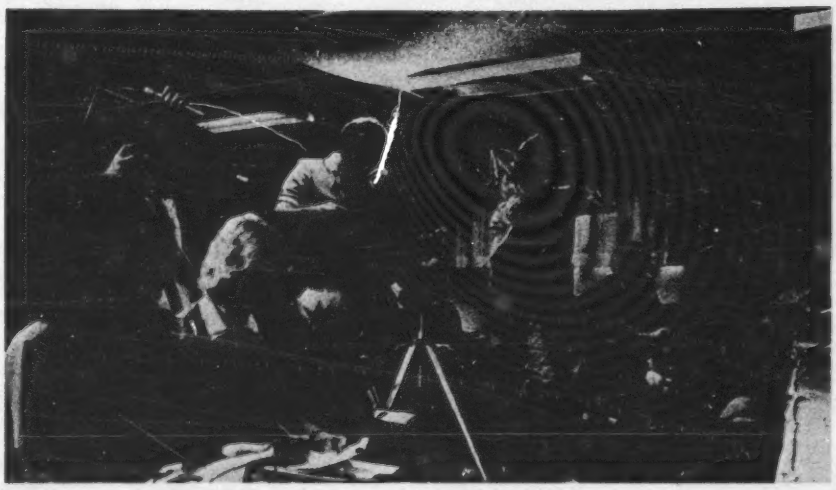
3. **The media.** Media coverage varied greatly from commission to commission, for the most part in direct relationship to the prominence of the issue being discussed. Some commissions sought media coverage to help publicize the issues they were considering. Other commissions received attention without seeking coverage. Several commissions decided to include newspaper editors among their members.

Media and public participation can be closely linked, as in one case where media coverage was essential to the effectiveness of the public hearings. In the words of one respondent, "State policy news gets greater coverage in the state capitol. When we had hearings in other parts of the state, the media coverage was not very good, and people did not show up. We did much better when we had meetings in the state capitol."

Elementary/Secondary Commissions and Postsecondary Commissions

Elementary/secondary and postsecondary commissions proved to be remarkably similar in structure, function, issues and problem areas.

Only in commission leadership was a difference discernible. Although the quality of leadership was universally important, the source of leadership differed. In postsecondary commissions, the chairperson – who was a state higher education officer, a university president or a business leader – invariably provided strong, central direction to the commission efforts.



Commission members expected the chairs to provide strong leadership, and they did.

The pattern in the elementary/secondary commissions was substantially more varied. One commission mirrored the postsecondary experience: a well-known state public figure became the chair and provided strong leadership. In another case, a commission member seemed to exert greater leadership than the chair. In a third case, a group of commission members and the staff director all seemed to provide leadership. To quote one commissioner, "It (commission work) was a real committee effort; no one person dominated."

These differences may well reflect the general political landscape. In elementary/secondary education, virtually every issue arouses the interest of a wide variety of groups with diverse political influence. As a consequence, many states have no strong core leadership group. The situation in postsecondary education is somewhat different in most states. Typically, a core leadership group does tend to form, in part because of the professional or public stature of the leaders and in part because of the smaller number of interests and political influences.

Summary

Most states are confronted at some time with the need to address controversial issues of education policy in a highly visible environment. In such cases, the creation of a respected, blue-ribbon commission is frequently a successful strategy.

As the ECS study indicates, such commissions vary widely. They are created by governors or legislators to perform various functions – to generate specific legislative proposals, to sort out policy issues, to set a policy agenda. They also differ in their organization and their management.

However, despite the variations, several lessons emerge that appear to be helpful to officials considering the establishment of new commissions. First, it is important to know the individual state. State politics, education climate and economic conditions are all important factors to consider in planning a study commission. Second, it is essential to know the policy area the commission will address and to know what other states are doing in that area. Third, it is important to understand what is politically practical and feasible in a specific state. Fourth, an official should decide what outcome is desirable, e.g., legislation, agenda-setting, or ongoing planning and oversight. Each requires different mixes of people and different planning strategies. Finally, the most important decision in creating a study commission: choosing the right people to sit on the commission. Choosing commission members who can provide insight on the issues, leadership in the implementation process and have time to devote to the work of the commission virtually assures success.

TABLE 2. Characteristics of Blue Ribbon Commissions in ECS Study

State	Level of Education	Who Created	Reasons for Creation	No. of Commissioners	No. of Paid Staff	Other Staffing Arrangements	Commission Budget	Funding Sources	Total Operating Time
A	El/Sec	Governor	Fair school finance; old system disequalizing	21	–	Utilized governor's staff, state department of education staff, education association staff	n/a	Private foundations, plus some public monies	1 year
A	Higher Education	Governor	Federal desegregation mandate	23	–	There was a technical committee composed of the chief aides of the commissioners and institutional representatives. Also used higher education commission staff	–	All in-kind contributions	2 months
B	Higher Education	Governor	Higher education system not centralized; no real coordination	17	3	Staff also from businesses, higher education commissions	$100,000	Labor and business interests; private foundations. (Includes some in-kind contributions.)	6 months
C	El/Sec	Governor	Updated look at whole system; need for review of governance and finance systems	22	1 – first year 2 – second year	Graduate students both years and consultants	$50-60K (1st year) $200K (2nd year)	Staff director's salary in-kind from governor's office. Foundation and legislative support plus staff director's salary	2 years
C	Higher Education	Governor Legislature	Disagreement over possible changes in higher education governance structure	22	–	Utilized staff from governor's office (staff director), legislature and SEA consultants	$165,000	Foundation and legislature	6 months
D	El/Sec	Legislature	Evaluating the schools; prescribing set of goals that would provide the best education system for the future	25	2 FTE and secretary	Utilized 6 staff persons from legislature on part-time basis	$140,000	State legislature, NCSL and private foundation	18 months
E	El/Sec	Governor	Assess elementary and secondary school program and develop a plan of progress for education	34	2 FTE and secretary	Consultants used to staff each of the 5 standing committees	$300,000	Private foundations and private businesses	2 years
F	Higher Education	Governor	Fiscal crisis in the state	5	12	–	n/a	n/a	8 months
G	Higher Education	Governor	Continuing reorganization of state government	27	8	–	n/a	n/a	2 years

6. Voting and Leadership: Legislative Behavior

The actions taken by state legislators and legislatures are central to the development of state policy in general and of school finance policies in particular. Yet how legislatures formulate and adopt school finance legislation has been the subject more of speculation than of study. There have been several studies of what influences voting behavior in the U.S. Congress. But the absence of comparable studies of state legislatures has meant that hypotheses remain unsupported (and undenied) by solid evidence systematically collected. Do legislators vote in the economic self-interest of their district? Do they vote in response to constituency pressures? Do they vote in response to their political party ideology? Or, do their votes reflect interest group influence only?

To find out which factors influence the decisions state legislators make about school finance, the Education Commission of the States undertook an 18-month study of legislative voting behavior. The study examined differences across states, across issues, across time and across chambers. It also explored the role legislative leaders play in developing and passing school finance legislation. The study and major results are described below, followed by a brief discussion of possible implications.

Quantitative Factors Studied

Economic Self-Interest
- Change in State Aid
- Change in Expenditure

Socioeconomic Status
- Median Family Income

Interest Group Influence
- Teacher Association Members
- Measure of Tax Effor
- AFDC Recipients
- Blue Collar Workforce
- Small Business Concentration

Constituency Influences
- Desire for Public Services
- Rural/Urban Lifestyles

Political Heritage
- Political Party

Leadership Rating

Research

The study focused on school finance votes in Michigan, Missouri and Washington. These three states were chosen for several reasons. First, each passed major school finance reform legislation during the mid-1970s. Second, each used "open" legislative processes in the sense that changes in legislation were often discussed on the floor rather than behind closed doors. Third, none of these legislatures operated under binding caucus rules, which meant that legislators were free to vote their consciences.

The study was designed to allow comparison of behavior on four different types of votes: (1) votes in three states on major school finance reform (Michigan, Missouri, Washington); (2) votes in Missouri on a school finance reform bill that did not pass in 1975 (HB 350) and one that did pass in 1977 (HB 131); (3) votes on school legislation and nonschool (health care) legislation (Missouri and Washington); and (4) votes in Missouri's Senate and House on the school finance bill in 1977 (HB 131).

The design also allowed study of the positions individual legislators took on various amendments and complete bills, and of legislators who were instrumental in getting legislation enacted. Informed sources in each of the three states rated the importance of the roles played by legislators in the adoption of the new legislation. The ratings were based on factors such as whether a legislator guided the development of a bill or played an active role in bringing about an important compromise. Characteristics of legislators who received active ratings and their legislative districts were then analyzed to determine if roles and characteristics were systematically related.

The legislation examined considered many aspects of school finance. In 1973 Michigan passed SB 110 (the "Bursley Act"), which distributed state aid in proportion to local property tax effort and added very little money per pupil to the education system. In 1977 Washington passed HB 960 and Missouri passed HB 131, both of which sought to

provide adequate base funding and to increase state aid per pupil. Some votes on these bills or on amendments to them reallocated fixed amounts of money among school districts. Other votes pumped in additional money. Some amendments changed the formula for distributing school funding; others defined how local school districts could use money once they received it.

Study Design

Votes in Different States

Votes at Different Times

Cross-Issue Comparisons

Comparisons Across Chambers

Differences Between Voting Behavior and Policy Leadership

Since the nature of the major reform bills differed dramatically from state to state, so did the decisions facing legislators. Michigan adopted an approach based on local property tax effort. In Missouri the legislature moved from a straight foundation approach to a foundation plus reward for property tax effort; in Washington, the legislature did not adopt a traditional funding formula, opting instead to define basic education and fund 100 percent of it. The issues raised in amendments also differed. In Michigan an amendment proposed a formula for funding special education. A cost-of-education index, pupil transportation and the use of revenue from fines and intangible taxes were all subjects of amendments in Missouri. In Washington one amendment would have added an urban, rural, racial and disadvantaged education program to the definition of basic education, and another would have adjusted the basic education grant for increasing or declining enrollments. Washington and Missouri debated how much new state revenue would go to salary increases.

Legislative Choices Studied

Michigan House of Representatives

1973 SB 110 – Bursley Act
- Restrictions on District Expenditure Increases
- Additional Allowance of Equalized Mills
- Increased Funds for Special Education

Missouri House of Representatives

1975 HB 350 – School Finance Reform Package
- Computing the Pupil Count

1977 HB 131 – School Finance Reform Package
- Minimum Flat Grant
- Transportation Aid
- Foundation Aid Deductions
- Teacher Salary Guarantee
- Cost-of-Education Index

1977 HB 1413 – Certificate-of-Need Legislation

Missouri Senate

1977 HB 131 – School Finance Reform Package

Washington House of Representatives

1971 HB 553 – Certificate-of-Need Legislation

1977 HB 960 – Basic Education Act
- Inclusion of Special Education in Definition of Basic Education
- Inclusion of Programs for the Disadvantaged in Definition of Basic Education
- Declining and Increasing Enrollment Adjustment

1977 HB 1086 – Special Levy Limitation Bill

Information gathered in the study was examined quantitatively, using statistical analysis of roll call votes on complete bills and amendments; and qualitatively, using interviews with legislators and chief legislative staff. The study primarily focused on legislative activity in the lower chambers.

Votes in Different States

Each state has its own breed of school finance politics. From the metropolitan-outstate split in the Missouri Legislature to labor-management politics in the state of Michigan, standard political positions have been modified by each state's individual political culture. The results are major differences not only in the policy formation process but also in the factors that influence the process. When the Michigan Legislature considered school finance legislation in 1973, legislators tended to vote with their political party rather than for the economic self-interest of their districts. In Missouri, however, legislators were strongly aware of district interests, and the rural/urban coalition that passed HB 131 was forged in spite of political party ties. It seems to have been easier for legislators to perceive economic self-interest or to forge a new coalition if sufficiently large increments of new money were added to the system, as was the case in Missouri. Yet in Washington, which struggled to change its school finance system in 1977, the legislature was able to limit the definition of basic education even though money for education was not yet a problem.

Differences in political culture and political process meant that relationships between indicators and votes were not exactly similar across states. That is, there seems to be no single set of factors that clearly influences votes in every legislative roll call situation.

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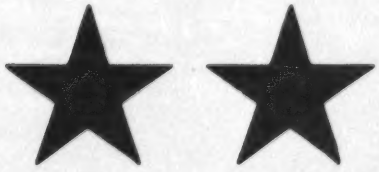
Votes at Different Times

Analysis of how the Missouri House of Representatives voted on school finance reform at different times reinforces the argument that state political settings are quite diverse.

In 1977 the Missouri House of Representatives passed legislation that was directly traceable to its effort to reform school finance in 1975. The 1975 bill died in the Missouri Senate because it was perceived as being pro-metropolitan. If a new school finance system was to be adopted, it would have to appeal to a broader coalition of legislators. The 1975 package was therefore revised and resubmitted in 1977, a process that gained considerable momentum from Governor Bond's appointment of a state Conference on Education and from a court challenge of the school finance system.

Many of the ideas adopted in 1977 were also proposed in 1975, yet there were important differences. Consistent across the two bills were the manner in which pupils were counted, the weighting factors included in the aid formula, the method of computing foundation aid and the requirements placed on local school districts for spending on teachers' salaries. Deleted between 1975 and 1977 were equalizing local assessments; added were a guaranteed tax base add-on provision and an income factor adjustment to the property wealth provision. As the 1977 legislative package developed, so did the rural/urban coalition that eventually passed the measure.



Cross-Issue Comparisons

Votes on school finance legislation were generally votes on these three types of proposals: amendments to the main legislation that redistributed funds in a manner differing from previous allocations, amendments that added regulatory guidelines to the tasks performed by local school districts and votes on the entire legislative package.

Votes on amendments to alter the flow of funds were related to indicators of economic self-interest with striking frequency. Although state legislators typically must work with relatively little information, they nonetheless collected enough information to define their districts' self-interest: when an advantage was to be gained in the school finance reform process, legislators knew what it was. Their ability to determine economic interest was especially evident in the amendment to adjust the basic education allocation for enrollment changes in Washington, the votes on the cost index in Missouri, and the vote on the special education amendment in Michigan.

A different set of variables consistently explained votes on regulatory amendments (e.g., the votes in Washington to expand the definition of basic education, and the vote in Missouri on local school district spending limits for teacher salaries). Votes on these matters tended to relate to ideological factors, like political party, constituency and median-income models.

Votes on the adoption of complete packages followed two distinct patterns. In Michigan, where the legislature changed the method for delivering state aid to school districts but did not substantially increase total aid, the major influences were ideological: political party was the main factor determining preliminary votes on the legislation, and the median income of legislators' districts was the more influential factor in the final vote. Economic self-interest and interest groups played a negligible role in the outcome. Yet in Missouri and Washington, the final votes on total packages tended to be more strongly motivated by economic self-interest than by political party, constituency influence or other ideological factors. The votes analyzed on certificate-of-need legislation in the health care fields were generally related to economic self-interest and to ideology, with self-interest tending to dominate.

It seems that when legislation raises significant winner and loser considerations, legislators will gather enough information to determine whether their districts will win or lose and then vote accordingly. In a broader sense, it seems that political ideology does not determine voting behavior when legislation has significant economic consequences. These conclusions confirm the observations of Lowi (1964) and others (Greenstone and Peterson, 1973, pp. 278-285 and Wilson, 1973, pp. 327-332) that the politics of voting on regulatory amendments are different from those associated with the distribution of money.

Comparisons Across Chambers

In both the Missouri Senate and the Missouri House, votes on the complete school finance bill were strongly related to economic self-interest. Also evident in the Senate was the influence of constituents and the tension between economic self-interest and conflicting rural/urban lifestyles. Evident in the house was the strong influence of political party, which suggests that some legislators followed their political leaders regardless of direct benefits to their districts.

Differences Between Voting Behavior and Policy Leadership

Although voting on school finance relates closely to the interests of a legislator's district and his or her own political background, the likelihood that a legislator will be a policy leader seems, for various reasons, completely unrelated to district characteristics.

The present study confirms the finding by Rosenthal and Fuhrman (1981) that policy leadership in education emanates from both the substantive committees and the money committees of state legislatures. But it raises questions about their finding that tenure is a determinant of policy leadership. In two instances, the length of time legislators served in the legislature was unrelated to leadership; in two other instances, it related only moderately.

Two different types of policy leaders seem essential to the passage of school finance reform legislation: education policy specialists (that is, state education leaders) and legislators who contribute new ideas or new coalition-building skills. Without the help of both types of leaders, reform legislation would not have been enacted in Michigan, Missouri or Washington, where state education leaders used the "new ideas" legislators to fashion a package to meet the requirements of the full legislature. Education leaders seem to emerge after making a long-term commitment to the development of education policy; "new ideas" legislators rise to leadership in more serendipitous ways.

Although voting behavior depends on the political roots of legislators, the development of legislation depends on different factors, on a combination of traditional leadership and new ideas. If Rosenthal and Fuhrman (1981, p. 107) are correct in concluding that emerging legislative leaders show less interest in education than their predecessors, the development of high-quality school finance legislation may be in jeopardy since new ideas alone will not result in good legislation.

Implications of Results

Applying the results of a study of three states to all states is in some ways impossible or inappropriate, given the diversity of state politics in America. Further, the study itself did not produce a monolithic set of factors that always explained voting behavior even in these three states. There is, however, a way in which the results may be generalized.

It derives from the conclusions Daniel Elazar drew in *American Federalism* (1972) about political culture in all 50 states. Elazar defined three types of political culture and then classified states according to which type or types of culture predominate. He found that the political culture of Michigan resembles political cultures in Vermont, Maine, Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Colorado, Utah and Oklahoma. The political culture of Washington is in the same category as New Hampshire, Iowa, Montana, Kansas, South Dakota, California and Idaho; the political culture of Missouri is in a category with Delaware, Maryland and Hawaii. Findings of the ECS study of Michigan, Missouri and Washington could, then, contribute to understanding legislative processes in the other states that Elazar placed in the same categories.

People who are interested in understanding or participating in the legislative process should consider the following implications of the voting behavior study.

- No single factor consistently determines voting behavior across states, or even within states on various aspects of the same issue. There is no simple solution for the legislative leader interested in building a coalition to enact complex school finance legislation. Success in passing school finance legislation depends on three major elements: (1) the political culture in which the legislature is operating; (2) the issue being considered; and (3) the day-to-day legislative context (e.g., interpersonal relationships between legislators, the activities of interest groups).
- State political culture constrains the new ideas that legislators advance. Conforming new approaches to the political dynamics of the state is essential for the proponents of new ideas and for traditional leadership.
- Two types of policy leadership are required to pass complex school finance legislation. Traditional education leaders play a vital role, but so do legislators with new ideas or new approaches.

Confirming that new legislators with new ideas play an important role in passing school finance legislation, as this study has done, is one matter. Assuring the continuing interest of new legislators in education is, perhaps unfortunately, quite a different proposition. Current legislative leaders need to consider strategies to enhance the attractiveness of education as a political issue so that future legislative leaders develop interests in education.

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